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31
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VIRA

PART 1

ASIATIC STUDIES

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Pt.-1

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पुस्तकालय

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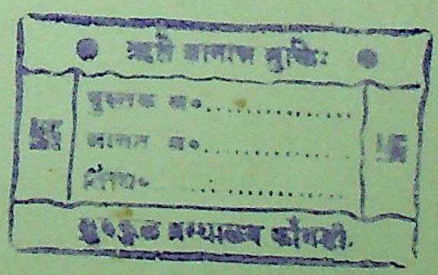
Part 1

edited by
Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira

New Delhi, 1963



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INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 31

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West
in a Series of Collectanea

Founded by
RAGHU VIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.*

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

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CONTENTS

The Mongol Chronicle *Altan Tobči*: RAGHU VIRA vii

Outline of the *Thob yig gsal bahi me loṅ* : ALEX WAYMAN 109

Analysis of the Tantric Section of the Kanjur Correlated to Tanjur Exegesis: ALEX WAYMAN 118

Verses on the Accumulation of Precious Qualities (रत्नगुणसंचयगाथा) : EDWARD CONZE 126

The Importance of Hittite Art in Indian Civilisation : P. C. DAS GUPTA 179

Words for Nose, Smell, etc.: JOHANNES RAHDER 181

Kara-tepe—Remains of a Buddhist Monastery of the Kushan Period in old Termez: E. G. PTCHELINA and B. J. STAVISKY 193

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THE MONGOL CHRONICLE ALTAN TOBČI

by

PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA†, NEW DELHI

(posthumously published with an introductory note by Dr. Lokesh Chandra)

"At the present time, it is either impossible or extremely difficult for a student of Mongolian history or literature to engage in basic research, because the primary source materials, if available in either printed or manuscript form, are practically inaccessible."[1] It is for this reason that we are publishing herein the *Altan Tobčiya*, written by Mergen gegen of Urat. Three different historical texts are known by this title:

(i) *Altan Tobči* (1655) by Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-ḥdzin also referred to as *Altan Tobči* nova. It has been reproduced photomechanically by F. W. Cleaves[1] from the edition printed at Ulanbator in 1937.[2]

(ii) *Altan Tobči* anonymus, sive brevior, which has been brought out by C.R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Wiesbaden 1955.[3]

(iii) *Altan Tobčiya* (1765) by Mergen gegen of Urat. It is reproduced here from the manuscript of A. Pozdneev (MS. *a*) which is in the Oriental Institute at Leningrad (C23, Xyl. F 101). Besides this, two more manuscripts are known from the Gegen süme (MS. *b*), and from the Ordos area (MS. *c*). Each of the manuscripts has a different title:

(a) Yeke mongγol ulus-un ündüsün altan tobči.
(b) Mergen gegen-ten-ü ǰokiyaγsan altan tobči.
(c) Altan tobči (-yin terigün/qoyaduγar debter).[4]

The author refers to it as *Uye-yin bičig Altan Tobči ǰimislig-un modun* in the beginning of the work itself. A title later he gives the title in three languages: *Suvarṇa-sūtra* in Sanskrit, *Gser-gyi-mdo* in Tibetan, and *Altan tobči* in Mongolian.

The author of the chronicle is mentioned in the title of Ms. *b* as Mergen gegen. This assignment is confirmed by the colophon of *Bolur toli* of Jimbadorǰi

[1] Francis W. Cleaves' Foreword, *Altan Tobči*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica I, Cambridge, Mass. 1952, p.v.

[2] W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen I*, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 50-75.

[3] *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 75-79.

[4] *Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 171 n.2, 3, 4.

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(1834-1837) where it is said: "*Altan tobči* of Mergen of Urat". He was the second incarnation of the Mergen diyanči blama. Known popularly as the Mergen gegen of Urat, or Mergen diyanči blama-yin gegen, his proper name was Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa-rgyal-mtshan. He belonged to the ruling family of the Urats whose descent from Qaniti noyan through his successors is enumerated in chapter 32. He was, in fact, the brother of a ruling prince. We know no biographic details about him. The exact dates of his birth and nirvāṇa are also unknown, except that in 1748 he is mentioned in the biography of Dalai Lama VII and that his collected works were printed at Peking between 1780 and 1783.[5] The date of the Chronicle is revealed by references in chapters 7, 16, and 19 as 1765 A.D. It is strange that the Chronicle is excluded from his collected works in four volumes, comprising 130 titles, which were epilogued by the Lcaṅ-skya qutuγtu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje himself. Mergen gegen's efforts to create a national liturgy in the Mongolian language brought him acclaim as well as success for we find some of his works printed as separata and widely in circulation. He founded the Köndelen Monastery at the foot of the Mina-ūla. He was the Abbot of the Mergen süme or Bkra-śis-dpal-ldan-gliṅ, Northeast of the Alashan Mountains in the Western Urat Banner.

The present chronicle was intended to be mainly genealogical in character. It is divided into two parts: the first pertains to the history of India and Tibet, and the second to that of Mongolia. Beginning with historiography, the purpose of the work, and origin of the world and of mankind, he goes on to the first King Mahā-sammata who is Manu Vaivasvata. . . . . The period of the Tibetan Kings from Sroṅ-btsaṅ-sgam-po to Mu-khri-btsan-po is treated in chapters 8 to 15. The second part details Mongolian history and six chapters at the end are devoted to genealogies of the Ölöt, Torghut, Khortsin, and Urat.

The setting up of the types of the text of the Chronicle was completed during the life of my father Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira. But as ill-fate would have it, he could not see it in final print. It is my pious filial duty to render this Chronicle readily accessible to those who specialise in Indo-Mongol cultural history.

LOKESH CHANDRA

[5] W. Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, Nr.162, 151.

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ओ३म् सहनाववतु । सहनौ भुनक्तु । सह वीर्यं करवावहै । तेजस्वि नावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषावहै ॥

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OUTLINE OF THE THOB YIG GSAL BAHI ME LOṄ

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A *thob yig* ('manual of what was received') is a work in which the author sets forth the lineages of the various doctrines and practices in which he has become learned or skilled. The East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, possesses a four-volume *thob yig* by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las[1], entitled *Zab pa daṅ rgya che baḥi dam paḥi chos kyi thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ*, "The 'Bright-mirror' *thob yig* of the profound and far-reaching illustrious Law". This is a well-printed Peking block-print. The same library also has this author's *Ñag rnams phyogs su bsgrigs pa*—his minor essays. The latter were quite popular among the Lamas, especially the essay *Ma-ṇiḥi phan yon sogs ston paḥi/byin rlabs myur ḥjug ces bya*, on the celebrated formula *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, and hence were sometimes separately printed. These are in two volumes in a Peking block-print which has been run off from blocks damaged in part. Both sets were brought to that University by Professor (new emeritus) F.D. Lessing. Using the colophon of the *thob yig* and his auto-biography among the *ñag phyogs*, I have already pointed out that he was born *chu pho rta* (1642 A.D.) and was 61 years old when the Sixth Dalai Lama was 19 years old (i.e. in A D. 1702) and that he may have been the teacher of the Sixth Dalai Lama.[2]

The following outline of the contents of his *thob yig* will serve to illustrate the structure and type of material in such a work. In almost all cases, the biographies have been severely condensed and are replete with religious terms; but as the sources of the author are themselves for the most part unobtainable in Western libraries, it appears desirable to suggest the research possibilities of this compen-

[1. For a general idea about *thob yig* also see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 124. It may be noted that a copy of this *thob yig* also exists in the collection of Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira. This work will be printed in the Śatapiṭaka Series in the near future.

A short biography of Jayapaṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las and a list of his works is given in Lokesh Chandra, *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, introd. p.18, text p.10– Ed.]

2. "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. III (1959), p. 125, note. Beginning this page, I translated his explanations of the three kinds of Yama.

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dium. The folio numbers follow the Peking edition; volumes Ka, Kha, Ga, and Ña are represented respectively by I, II, III and IV.

The work begins with the usual stanzas of bowing to the great Indian and Tibetan teachers, and acknowledgments to his own teachers.

Chapter (*sarga*) **1**, ending I.60a6: Dge baḥi bśes gñen bsten nas thos pa ḥtshol tshul daṅ/raṅ ñid bstan par žugs nas rab byuṅ bsñen rdzogs thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of the method of hearing and search through reliance on a friendly guide (*kalyāṇamitra*); and exposition of the personal method of entering the religious life and receiving ordination through entrance in the teaching".

The chapter title well exemplifies the contents. We may mention also that there is included (f. 5a1, ff.) a general discussion of the Law (*dharma*) and its division into two categories, scripture (T. *luṅ*, S. *āgama*), and higher cognition (T. *rtogs*, S. *adhigama*). Numerous authorities are quoted for this distinction, which in practice is the lineage of promulgation (*bkaḥ*) contrasted with authoritative commentary (*dgoṅs ḥgrel*).

Chapter (*sarga*) **2**, ending I.122b1: Thun moṅ baḥi rig gnas rnams la thos bsam gyi bag chags cuṅ zad bžag pa, "A sketch of the traces of hearing (*śrutā*) and pondering (*cintā*) of the common sciences."

The author explains that after one has entered the teaching (as in Chapter 1) he studies sciences (*vidyāsthāna*) of two kinds, common sciences (*thun moṅ baḥi rig paḥi gnas*, S. *sādhāraṇa-vidyāsthāna*) and uncommon science (*thun moṅ ma yin paḥi rig paḥi gnas*, S. *asādhāraṇa-vidyāsthāna*). The first kind is the subject of this chapter. Many legends are given to account for the origin of the sciences. The ones in this chapter are for the most part accessible in Western sources (through the translations of Tāranātha's and of Bu-ston's History of Buddhism). Lists of teachers are given in each case. The common sciences are grammar, logic, arts, and medicine. The folio numbers will show where the individual sections begin:

I.60b2. *Sgra* (S *śabda*, 'grammar'). Sgra has the five appendages or subsidiary topics (*žar byuṅ*) of *sñan ṅags* (S. *kāvya*, 'poetic art'), *mṅon brjod* (S. *abhidhāna*, 'lexicography'), *sdeb sbyor* (S. *chandas*, 'metrics'), *zlos gar* (S. *naṭana*, 'drama'), and *dkar rtsis* (S. *jyotis*, 'astrology', and *gaṇita*, 'astronomy').

I.70a4. *Gtan tshigs* (S. *hetu-vidyā*, 'logic').

I.76a2. *Bzo ba* (S. *śilpa*, 'the arts').

I.77b2. *Gso ba* (S. *cikitsā*, 'medicine'). The inordinate space devoted to

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this heading is due to the inclusion of tantric rites concerned with medicine.

I.108b6. Sroṅ btsan sgam po. Story of the introduction of the precepts into Tibet during his reign.

Chapter (*sarga*) **3**, ending I.174b2: Rgyu mtshan ñid kyi theg paḥi dam paḥi chos la thos bsam gyi bag chags cuṅ zad bžag pa daṅ gžuṅ maḥi luṅ daṅ ḥkhrid thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "A sketch of the traces of hearing and pondering of the illustrious Law consisting in the causal, or exoteric, vehicle; and exposition of how the textual scriptures and guidance [through them] was obtained."

In beginning his treatment of uncommon science, the author subdivides this into the causal (*rgyu*, S. *hetu*) or exoteric (*mtshan ñid*, S. *lakṣaṇa*),[3] vehicle (*theg pa*, S. *yāna*); and the resultative (*ḥbras bu*, S. *phala*), esoteric (*sṅags*, S. *mantra*), vehicle (*theg pa*). Both are called 'inner science' (*naṅ rig*, S. *ādhyātmika-vidyā*); and fundamental (*rtsa bar gyur pa*, S. *mūlabhūta*) to both is the translated Word (*Bkaḥ ḥgyur* or Kanjur) of the great *muni* (*thub pa chen po*). As can be seen by the chapter tītle, we are here concerned with only the causal, exoteric, vehicle. The resultative, esoteric, vehicle is treated in chapters 4 through 9. The translated Word is treated in chapters 10 and 11. Our present chapter in turn divides the the treatment of *luṅ* (S. *āgama*, 'scripture'), beginning I.122b3; and of *ḥkhrid* (S. *nayana*, 'guidance'), meaning a guided tour through the scriptures, beginning I.171b4. The first subdivision occupies most of the chapter and is devoted chiefly to biographies, which also mention works and lineages.

I.123a2.	Biography of	Maitreya-nātha.
I.125b4.	,,	Asaṅga.
I.130a3.	,,	Vasubandhu.
I.134a3.	,,	Guṇaprabha.
I.136b3.	,,	Nāgārjuna.
I.138b1.	,,	Āryadeva.
I.141b2.	,,	Haribhadra.
I.144a1.	,,	Diṅnāga.
I.145b2.	,,	Dharmakīrti.

[3]. The expression *lakṣaṇayāna* is literally 'vehicle of the characteristic(s)'. Here 'characteristics' may well mean 'characteristics of Buddhism' and be a usage drawn from Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi*, as I suggested in "The Rules of Debate according to Asaṅga," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 78 (Jan.-March, 1958), p.35. The Tibetans may also have adopted this term with the implication that the highest vehicle is 'without characteristics.'

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I.148a3. Biography of Candragomin.

I.151a1. ,, Śākyaprabha.

I.151b2. ,, Dharmarakṣita.

I.152b5. History of the six texts of the Bkaḥ gdams pa school, i.e. the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, the *Jātakamālā*, and the *Udānavarga*. In the course of this he gives the biography of Śāntideva.

I.162b3. The *chos chuṅ brgya rtsa* (a centenary of minor works) concerned with the teaching of Atiśa. 103 commentaries listed with translators. This is the collection called *Jo-boḥi chos chuṅ* (Tohoku Kanjur-Tanjur Catalog nos. 4465-4567).

The six texts of the Bkaḥ gdams pa, and the *chos chuṅ brgya rtsa*, are the exoteric *āgama* introduced by the reformer Atiśa, who arrived in Tibet in the year 1042.

I.169a5. Biography of Śākyaśrī, who arrived in Tibet in the year 1204 (*śiṅ pho byi*).

I.171b4. The second subdivision of the chapter, devoted to *ḥkhrid*, or guidance. Here we learn that the exoteric guidance is comprehensively given in two works by Tsoṅ kha pa, his *Lam rim chen mo* and *Lam rim chuṅ ṅu*—respectively, the stages of the path (full version), and the same (compressed version). These, in turn, each incorporate two guidance lineages called *rgya chen spyod* (ample practice), headed by the Bodhisattva Maitreya; and *zab mo lta* (profound doctrine), headed by the Bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa.

Chapter (*sarga*) **4**, ending I.297a5 (and concluding Volume I): Zur bkaḥi rjes gnaṅ gi skor thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of how the cycle of 'permission' (*anujñā*) in the specialized promulgations was obtained."

In the resultative, esoteric vehicle which now begins, there is a division into specialized promulgations (*zur bkaḥ*), general promulgation (*spyi bkaḥ*), and the abstruse cycle of associated collected works of Lamas, analyzing the concepts of *sūtra* and *tantra* (*žar byuṅ bla maḥi gsuṅ ḥbum sogs mdo sṅags tha sñad so sor dbye dkaḥ baḥi skor*). The present chapter is concerned with the first category, namely specialized promulgations; and is devoted only to the subsection of the *anujñā* ('permission' to invoke the deity), which it sets forth in the order in which it was introduced into Tibet. These are further subdivided with an over-all grouping into 'permission' in the Kriyā-Tantra, and 'permission' in the Anuttara-

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Yoga-Tantra. The former begins I.174b4; the latter I.249a4. The contents are rich in legends of the main deities worshipped in Tibet, and give the lineage of teachers; or perhaps more appropriately here, 'proficients' or 'adepts'. These are a few of the items:

I.175b4 to 195a6. The 16 Sthaviras, brief biographies, and other matters.

I.221a4 to 231b6. Legend of Tārā.

I.272a2 to 276a3. Legend of the three Yama, called *phyi*, *nań*, and *gsań*.

Chapter (*sarga*) **5**, ending II.130a5: Zur bkaḥ dbań du ma thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of how numerous initiations (*abhiṣeka*) in specialized promulgations were obtained."

This chapter continued the treatment of specialized promulgations, in the subsection of *abhiṣeka* (*dbań bskur*). This is further divided into *a*. sñags la ḥjug tshul spyir bśad pa, "General exposition of the methods of entering the *mantra* (vehicle)," that is to say, a general introduction to the concepts of the *tantras*—from beginning of Vol. II to II.14a4; and *b*. bye brag tu rgyud sde so soḥi dbań thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition in categories of how the *abhiṣekas* in the various *tantra* divisions were obtained." That is to say, the major divisions of the section are into Kriyā-Tantra, Caryā-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra, and Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra. Under these, there are divisions into different families (*kula*). A few of the topics are as follows: In the Kriyā-Tantra, II.16a3 to 23a5, legend of Amitāyus; 25a5 to 37b3, legend of Avalokiteśvara and his appearance in Tibet; 37b3 to 45b3, legend of Avalokiteśvara in connection with the rite of fasting (*smyuń gnas*) in the Kriyā-Tantra. Caryā-Tantra begins 62b5 (only a brief discussion). Yoga-Tantra begins 63a5. Contains the legend of how the Buddha obtained the five *abhisaṃbodhis*, and preached the Yoga Tantras. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra begins 68a4. General discussion of this branch of the *tantras*, from 68a4 to 74a1. The Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra is divided into Father Tantras and Mother Tantras; the former is treated 74a1 to 98a3, and includes the legends of Vajrapāṇi and Mañjughoṣa in his manifestation as Yamāri. The latter (Mother Tantras) is treated 98a3, ff., and includes f. 98b3 to 110a3, a general discussion of the *Śrī-cakrasaṃvaratantra*. This section, and the chapter, concludes with a discussion of the *Kālacakra* doctrine (115a3 to 128b6).

Chapter (*sarga*) **6**, ending II.151a5: Spyi bkaḥi dbań rnams thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of how the initiations (*abhiṣeka*) of the general promulgation were obtained."

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This chapter, beginning the major subsection of general promulgation, contains a biography of Abhyākaragupta, and discussion of his work, the *Rdo rje ḥphreṅ*, one of the *skor gsum* (three cycles), that is to say, the *Vajrāvali* (Tohoku 3140), the other two being the *Niṣpannayogāvali* (Tohoku 3141), and the *Jyotirmañjarī* (Tohoku 3142). There is also a biography of the Mahāsiddha Mitra [joki], and list of his work, the *Rdo rje ḥphreṅ* (*Vajrāvali*), comprising the *dkyil ḥkhor drug cu re drug gi dbaṅ*, "*abhiṣekas* of the sixty-six *maṇḍalas*."

Chapter (*sarga*) **7**, ending II.259a3: Spyi bkaḥi rjes gnaṅ gi skor thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of how the cycle of 'permission' (*anujñā*) of the general promulgation was obtained."

Here we may especially point out, II.152a6 to 171b2, discussion of the *sādhana* collections in relation to *anujñā* 'permission'; II.179a4 to 183a3, description of the Saṃbhoga-kāya in terms of the *ṅes pa lṅa* 'the five certainties'; II.183a6 to 251a6, biographies of the 84 Mahā-siddhas (which are numbered in the text). From II.251a6, ff. the author explains that he has summarized the (84) biographies as set forth in the *yig cha* (manual) by the Dge sloṅ Sman grub śes rab; and, without detail, lists several other versions; then, he discusses the text in general, and in connection with *anujñā* 'permission'.

Concluding the chapter is a brief discussion (f. 257a4, ff.) of guidance (*ḥkhrid*) in the general promulgation.

Chapter (*sarga*) **8**, completing Vol. II, and ending III.43a4: Rgya bod kyi mkhas grub sṅon byuṅ bkaḥ gdams pa maṅ poḥi rnam thar daṅ de dag gi gsuṅ ḥbum las luṅ ji ltar thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of numerous biographies of the early learned men of India and Tibet, and of [leading figures of] the Bkaḥ gdams pa; as well as of how the scripture (*āgama*) was obtained from their collected works."

The third division of the resultative, esoteric vehicle, namely, the associated works of Lamas, now begins, and covers chapters 8 and 9. The present chapter covers teachers up to, but not including, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (A.D. 1357-1419). There are lineage lists in almost every case.

II.259a5 to 264b1. Biography of Śāntirakṣita, the 8th century Indian paṇḍit who played a paramount role in early Tibetan Buddhist history, and through whose advice Padmasambhava was invited to Tibet.

II.265b1 to 270b1. Biography of Atīśa, and literature of the Bkaḥ gdams pa school. Atīśa, 11th century Indian paṇḍit, is the most important one of the Indian

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Buddhist scholars for the later diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. The Bkaḥ gdams pa school was founded by his chief student (Ḥbrom ston) to hand down Atiśa's oral precepts (*bkaḥ gdams*).

There follow the biographies of Mkhas grub khyuṅ po (II.272b4, ff.), Nag tsho Latsava (II.274b1, ff.), and Lha bla ma Byaṅ chub ḥod (II.277b5, ff.), outstanding personages of the 11th century. Then, II.278b1 to 283b5, discussion of the *kalyāṇamitras* (friendly guides) of the Bkaḥ gdams pa school. Individual biographies of the outstanding ones of this group follow from II.283b5 to 308a6. II.308a6 to 314b2, biography of Sa skya paṇḍita (A.D. 1182-1251), who was primarily responsible for converting the Mongols to Buddhism. There follow the biographies of immediate predecessors and teachers of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, namely Bu ston rin po che, redactor of the Kanjur and Tanjur (from beginning of Vol. III), Thogs med dpal bzaṅ po (III.14a6, ff.), Sems dpaḥ chen po Dpal ldan ye śes (III.26b1, ff.), Lho brag Nam mkhaḥ rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po (III.26b5, ff.), and Red mdaḥ pa (III.39b2 to 42b5)

Chapter (*sarga*) 9, completing Vol. III, and ending IV.174b4: Rgyal ba Tsoṅ kha pa chen po yab sras kyi rtogs brjod daṅ de rnams kyi gsuṅ ḥbum las luṅ ji sñed pa thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of the instructive lives (*avadāna*) of the victorious one, the great Tsoṅ-kha-pa, and of his spiritual sons; as well as of how the scripture was obtained from their collected works."

Chapter 9 is, in effect, a history of the Gelugpa school, founded by Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), in terms of the lives of its principal figures. The colophon mention of the Sixth Dalai Lama's age as 19 shows that the author finished the work soon after the beginning of the 18th century. Theoretically, the author should include only those teachers in whose lineage he stands. However, apparently by encyclopedic knowledge, he manages to have learned something from almost everyone of importance (at least in the Gelugpa school). and this gives him the opportunity to write up their biographies, even though in many cases it is extremely brief. We shall not itemize the many personages he treats, but restrict ourselves to a few remarks. He treats with greatest amplitude the Dalai Lamas, the Paṇ chen Lamas, and the chief ones among the *yoṅs ḥdzin*, religious teachers of the highly-placed Lamas, has an especially ample treatment of the 1st Paṇ chen Lama Blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po, III.190b1 to 232a2; and coming up to his own times, gives increasingly greater information in the biographies. Hence, the 17th century, with which he is most familiar, is especially well treated, and he

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naturally speaks with greatest authority on this period. Understandably, his chief emphasis is religious.

Chapter (*sarga*) **10**, ending IV.242b2: Rgyu phar phyin paḥi chos gtso bor ston paḥi mdoḥi skor gyi luṅ thob paḥi tshul bśad, "Exposition of how the scriptures of the cycle of *sūtras* which show principally the teaching of the causal *pāramitā* were obtained."

This and chapter 11 are devoted to the Kanjur (the approximate pronunciation of *bkaḥ ḥgyur*). Recalling the discussion at the outset of chapter 3 concerning the two vehicles, causal and resultative, we see that the author has maintained this distinction to the last, now dividing his treatment of the Kanjur into two chapters on this basis.

He leads up to the main subject matter with the following sections: IV.175a3 to 187a4, biography of Śākyamuni in terms of the 12 Acts (*mdzad pa bcu gñis*); IV.187a4 to 190a4, how the great Śrāvakas compiled the Word (*Hīnayāna tradition*); IV.190a4 to 190a5, compilation of the Word (*Mahāyāna tradition*); IV.190a6 to 190b3, duration of the Teaching; IV.190b5 to 194b3, important teachers in India and their commentaries; IV.194b3 to 197a2, diffusion of the Teaching in Tibet.

The *sūtras* which show principally the causal *pāramitā* vehicle fall into four groups:

(1) IV.197a4, ff.: Bkaḥ daṅ po bden bžiḥi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba ḥdul ba luṅ, "The *Vinaya-vastu* arising from the first promulgation (*bkaḥ*) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths". In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 1-7.

(2) IV.201a1. ff.: Bar pa mtshan ñid med paḥi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba śer phyogs, "The *Prajñā-pāramitā* side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. the Void, S. *śūnyatā*)." In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 8-30.

(3) IV.209a2, ff.: Tha ma legs par rnam par phye baḥi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba dkon brtsegs daṅ phal chen, "The *Ratnakūṭa* and *Avataṃsaka* arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. Yoga experience)." In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 44 (*Avataṃsaka*) and 45-93 (*Ratnakūṭa*).

(4) IV.217b3, ff.: Ḥkhor lo gsum pa ci rigs par gtogs pa sde tshan phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs paḥi mdo maṅ, "The numerous *sūtras* which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels (of the Law), arranged in a single major class." In the

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Tohoku Catalog, nos. 94-359.

All the works are listed individually with notice of the translators, and listing of the chief names of the lineage going with the particular work. The Kanjur used by the author has few differences with the Derge edition, but the works are not always in the same order. Furthermore, the works with nos. 31-43 in the Tohoku Catalog found in the Derge Kanjur are apparently all translations from Pāli not included in the original plan of the Kanjur and are not discussed by the author.

Chapter (*sarga*) **11**, ending IV.289b6: Ḥbras bu rdo rje theg pa gtso bor ston paḥi rgyud kyi skor gyi luṅ thob paḥi tshul bśad pa, "Exposition of how the scriptures of the cycle of *tantras* which show principally the resultative Vajrayāna were obtained."

First (IV.242b4) the author mentions that he will not describe the *Rñiṅ Rgyud* ('The Old Tantras'), Tohoku Catalog nos. 828-844, because *luṅ ma thob* ('their *āgama* was not obtained'), that is to say, he is not the recipient of instruction concerning them handed down from master to disciple. In other words, the mere fact that works have been translated into the Tibetan language gives no one a particular right to expound them, or presume to say he understands them. Even the most prominent authors write authoritatively only in those fields in which they can show they are the link in the chain of teachers. This accounts for the care taken to list the lineage of teachers for the various texts, as well as for the tendency to study only certain works, completely disregarding large sections of the translated canon.

His treatment of the remaining *tantras* undoubtedly follows Bu-ston, who fixed the arrangement in the 14th century, except for a few details, such as the interpolation of one or more later-translated texts. Just as for the *sūtras*, he lists the translators and the lineage. These are the most major categories:

IV.242b6, ff.: Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra (*rnal ḥbyor bla med kyi rgyud*), Tohoku Catalog nos. 360-478.

IV.259a3, ff.: Yoga-Tantra (*rnal ḥbyor rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 479-493.

IV.262b2, ff.: Caryā-Tantra (*spyod paḥi rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 494-501.

IV.264b1, ff.: Kriyā-Tantra (*bya baḥi rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 502-827.

There are a few works in the Derge Kanjur not listed by the author.

The whole work concludes with a long colophon, IV.289b2 to 303a.

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ANALYSIS OF THE TANTRIC SECTION OF THE KANJUR CORRELATED TO TANJUR EXEGESIS

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The present analysis of the Kanjur *Rgyud ḥbum* is based on the *Thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ* by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las.[1] The correlation to the Tanjur exegesis is made with the help of Palmyr Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vols. II and III (Paris, 1949 and 1915), along with his Leḥu numbers.[2] All numbers of works are references to *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934). The latter is a catalog of the Derge edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, but presumably every library which possesses a Kanjur and Tanjur of whatever edition would have this catalog because it is the only one so far for both a Kanjur and Tanjur.

The Kanjur classification of the *Rgyud ḥbum* was finally set by Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) in four groups—Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra, Caryā Tantra, and Kriyā-Tantra. A separate group called the *Rñiṅ rgyud* (Tohoku catalog nos. 828-844) comprises the old Tantras considered genuine but whose *āgama* (descent through master and disciple) had been broken or at least was not available to Bu-ston.

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1. Cf. my "Outline of the Thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ," this volume, pp. 109ff. Prof. G. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), pp. 261-263, presents the minute systemization, but the Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las work was more convenient to to me at the time the study was made—in fact, early summer, 1953, according to the typescript from which the present article is prepared with corrections according to my present knowledge.

2. The two volumes are Cordier's index to the Tanjur. His tragic death at the outset of the First World War prevented his completion of the projected Vol. I devoted to alphabetical indexes. This part was finished by Marcelle Lalou in her *Répertoire du Tanjur d'après le Catalogue de P. Cordier* (Paris, 1933). By Leḥu numbers is meant the data in Cordier's Vol. III, pp. 537-550. It should also be mentioned that my correlation to the Tanjur does not exhaust all the Tanjur Tantric entries, particularly in Cordier's catalog, but fairly well accounts for the numbers in the *Rgyud ḥgrel* section of the Derge Tanjur, as catalogued at the Tohoku University.

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
A. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra		
1. Neither Father nor Mother.[3]		
Mañjuśrī-nama-saṇgīti[4] (Cordier, Leḥu 12)[5]	360	1395-1400, 2090-2121
Kālacakra (Cordier, Leḥu)[6]	361-365	1346-1394
2. Mother Tantras, under seven groupings,		
a. Ston pa, through g. Vajradhāra.[7]		
a. Ston pa (**deśaka*).		
Sarvabuddhasamayoga (Cordier, Leḥu 8)	366-367	1659-1682
b. Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya), in five classes.		
(1) *Saṃvara* (Cordier, Leḥu 2)	368-415	1401-1606[8]
(2) *Hevajra* (Cordier, Leḥu 3)	417-423	1180-1345[9]

[3]. Tsoṅ-kha-pa did not admit this category; for him, the *Kālacakra* is a Mother Tantra. His views are summarized by his disciple Mkhas grub rje in the *Rgyud sde spyi rnam*, General Summary of the Tantras, which Prof. F. D. Lessing and I have translated and are preparing for publication. It was my work on Mkhas grub rje's text that originally inspired the research embodied in the present article.

[4]. This work is in a class by itself, because it has a set of commentaries as an Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, and another set as a Yoga-Tantra (therefore see also the Yoga-Tantra section).

[5]. Cordier's Leḥu 12 covers only the numbers 2090-2121, which are located immediately after the Father Vairocana *Yamāri* Tantric exegesis and are followed by the Father Padma-kula *Bhagavadekajaṭā* Tantric exegesis. It can be assumed that nos. 2090-2121 are commentaries in the Father Vairocana Tantric tradition. On the other hand, nos. 1395-1400 are included in Cordier's Leḥu 1 as *Kālacakra* commentaries.

[6]. Cordier's Leḥu 1 also includes nos. 1395-1400, as pointed in note 5.

[7]. The intention is to list the Tantras under the Buddha (Tathāgata, Jina) being emphasized. The first category (Ston pa) deals with all the Buddhas equally, and so strictly speaking does not constitute an individual Tantric family. The remaining six groups then correspond, and in the same order, to the six of the Father Tantras. The sixfold group can be increased to seven by dividing the Vajradhara family into causal (*hetu-*) and fruitional (*phala-*) Vajradhara. In such a case, the causal Vajradhara is called Vajrasattva.

[8]. The numbers 1401-1540 and 1541-1606 roughly correspond to Cordier's division into Yab skor and Yum skor, respectively.

[9]. Yab skor, nos. 1180-1304; Yum skor, nos. 1305-1320; Gur skor, 1321-1330; Thig skor, 1331-1345.

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
(3) *Buddhakapāla* (Cordier, Leḥu 7)	424	1652-1657
(4) *Mahāmāyā* (Cordier, Leḥu 5)	425	1622-1648
(5) *Āralī* (Cordier, Leḥu 7, last item)	426-427	1658
c. Vairocana.		
Catuḥpīṭha (Cordier, Leḥu 4)	428-430	1607-1621
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, *Krodharāja*, *Acala* (in Cordier, Leḥu 24)	431-434	1782-1783
d. Rdo rje ñi ma (Vajraprabhā, i.e. Ratnasaṃbhava).		
Vajrāmṛta (Cordier, Leḥu 6)	435	1649-1651
e. Padma gar dbaṅ (Padmanarteśvara, i.e. Amitābha). (In Cordier, Leḥu 9).		
Lokanatha	436	1750-1751
Tārā-Kurukullā	437	—
f. Rta mchog (Paramāśva, i.e. Amoghasiddhi). (In Cordier, Leḥu 9).		
Namastāre ekaviṃśati[10]	438	1683-1744[11]
Vajrakīlaya	439	—
Mahākāla	440[12]	1752-1781
g. Vajradhara.		
Yathālabdhakhasama	441	—
3. Father Tantras, under six groupings, a. Akṣobhya, through f. Vajradhara.		
a. Akṣobhya.		

[10]. This is an extract from no. 726, 3rd chapter, listed among the Kriyā-Tantras. That work is the most important one among the Tantras of the Mother of the Padma kula. Its Sanskrit title: *Sarvatathāgatamātṛtārāviśvakarmabhava-tantra*.

[11]. Since the twenty-one forms of Tārā represent all the moods of the World Mother, the different forms undoubtedly take care of the bulk of these commentaries. However, it is possible that some of the numbers constitute commentaries on *Tārā-Kurukullā* under e. above. Furthermore, the general works nos. 1745-1749 may have been placed immediately after the Tārā commentaries as generalities pertaining to those foregoing works.

[12]. And possibly also no. 416.

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Guhyasamāja (Cordier, Leḥu 10).	442-451[13]	1784-1917
Vajrapāṇi (Cordier, Leḥu 14)	454-464[14]	2147-2216
b. Vairocana.		
Yamāri (Cordier, Leḥu 11)	467-475, 478	1918-2089
c. Ratna-kula (lacking).		
d. Padma-kula.		
Bhagavadekajaṭā (Cordier, Leḥu 13).	476	2122-2146
e. Karma-kula (lacking).		
f. Vajradhara.		
Candraguhyatilaka	477	—
The Tanjur has moreover a section on generalities of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, including the mystic songs of the Mahāsiddhas (Cordier, Leḥu 15).		2217-2500
B. Yoga-Tantra		
1. The *mūla-tantra*.		
Tattvasaṃgraha, in four sections (*dum bu*)[15].	479	
2. Explanatory (*ākhya*) Tantras.		
Vajraśekhara, chiefly *thabs* (*upāya*).	480	
Paramādya, chiefly *śes rab* (*prajñā*).	487-488	
Others, chiefly *śes rab*:		
Vajramaṇḍalālaṃkāra, *Guhyālaṃkāravyūha* and *Guhyamaṇitilaka*.	490, 492-493	
Māyājāla[16]	466	

[13]. And possibly also nos. 452-453.

[14]. And possibly also no. 465.

[15]. The four sections represent five Buddha families compressed into four groups. This Tantra is also first of the ones showing chiefly *thabs* (*upāya*).

[16]. The Māyājāla was not included by the Dzaya-paṇḍita under the Yoga-Tantra, but its commentaries (nos. 2513-2514) are among the commentaries on the *mūla* and explanatory Tantras. The work itself is located among the Anuttara-yoga-Tantras in the Derge Kanjur, suggesting that its status a matter of dispute among the Lamas.

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Commentaries on the *mūla* and explanatory Tantras (Cordier, Leḥu 16)		2501-2531
Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti, as an explanatory Tantra (Cordier, Leḥu 17)	360	2532-2622
3. *Cha mthun* Tantras.[17]		
Sarvarahasya, explanatory (*thabs*) of 1st section (Tathāgata-kula)	481	
Trailokyavijaya, explanatory (*thabs*) of 2nd section (Vajra-kula)	482	
Others, explanatory from *thabs* standpoint	483-486	
Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcaśatikā, and *Pañcaviṃśatikāprajñāpāramitāmukha*, explanatory from *śes rab* standpoint[18]	489, 491	
Moreover, no. 488, above, can also be considered a *Cha mthun* Tantra for no. 487; and no. 487 can be considered a *Cha mthun* Tantras for the *mūla-tantra*, no. 479.		
Commentaries on the *Cha mthun* or *Ḥphros pa* Tantras (Cordier, Leḥu 18)		2623-2661
C. Caryā-Tantra		
1. Tathāgata-kula.		
Mahāvairocana[19]	494	
Acala-kalpa	495	
Commentaries on the Tathāgata-kula Tantras (Cordier, Leḥu 19)		2662-2669
2. Padma-kula (lacking).		

[17]. A *Cha mthun* Tantra is one with materials arranged to go specifically with one or more sections of the basic Tantra. Explanatory Tantras that are not *Cha mthun* develop various topics of the basic Tantra without regard to the sectional divisions.

[18]. In particular, no. 491 goes with no. 490.

[19]. Apparently the last chapter is taken as an Uttara tantra (*phyi ma rgyud*).

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
3. Vajra-kula.		
Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣeka	496	—
Aṣṭadevī-dhāraṇī	497	—
Others:	498-501	—
D. Kriyā-Tantra[20] (Cordier, Leḥu 20)		(2670-3139)
1. Tathāgata-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord (*gtso bo*)	502-542	2694-2697, 3130-3139
b. Tantras of the Master (*bdag po*)	543-552	2674, 2701-2719
c. Tantras of the Mother (*yum*):		
Prajñāpāramitā (the *Aṣṭaśataka* and *Kauśika*)	553-554	—
Suvarṇaprabhāsottama	555-557	—
Pañcarakṣā	558-563	2690-2693, 3117-3129
Mārīcī	564-566	—
Others:	567-589	—
d. Tantras of the Uṣṇīṣa	590-603	2688-2689, 3068-3116
e. Tantras of Wrathful Deities (*khro bo*):		
Tantras of Male Wrathful Deities (*khro bo*)	604-611	(?) 3052
Tantras of Female Wrathful Deities (*khro mo*)	612-613	—
f. Tantras of Messengers (*pho ña*)	614-630	—
Tantras of Male and Female Obedient Ones (*bkaḥ ñan pho mo*) auxiliary to the Messengers	631-633	3059-3065
g. Bodhisattvas belonging to the family	634-644	—
h Gods, etc. of the Pure Abode	645-673	—

[20]. As in the Caryā-Tantra there are three *lokottara* families, Tathāgata, Padma, and Vajra. In addition there are three *laukika* families, Maṇi, Pañcaka, and Laukika. Included among the Kriyā-Tantra are works of a general character (nos. 805-808) which give basic material that can be used by the higher Tantras (Caryā, etc.) as well. Finally, there is a division, often extracts from other works, of Pariṇāma and Praṇidhāna.

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	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
2. Padma-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord	674-680	2698-2700
b. Tantras of the Master	681-723	2720-2864
c. Tantras of the Mother	724-732	—[21]
d. Tantras of the Wrathful Deities, Male and Female	733-736	3053-3058
e. Tantras of Obedient Ones, Male and Female	737-742	—
3. Vajra-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord	743	—
b. Tantras of the Master	744. 756	2675-2687,
	746-751	2865-3049
c. Tantras of the Mother	752	—
d. Tantras of Wrathful Deities, Male and Female	753-755	—
e. Tantras of Male and Female Messengers and Obedient Ones	757-763	3050-3051
4. Worldly Families.		
a. Nor can (Maṇi)	764-771[22]	—
b. Lñas rtsen (Pañcaka)	772	—
c. Ḥjig rten pa (Laukika)	773-804	—
5. General Kriyā-Tantra.		
Subāhuparipṛcchā	805	2671-2673
Sāmānyavidhīnām guhya-tantra	806	—
Susiddhi	807	3066
Dhyānottarapaṭalakrama	808	2670
6. *Yoṅs su bsṅo* and *Smon lam.*		
a. Yoṅs su bsṅo (*pariṇāma*).	809-810	—
b. Smon lam (*praṇidhāna*)	811-827	—

[21]. While no commentaries on the Mother of the Padma-kula are included in Cordier, Leḥu 20, the Sādhana collection nos. 3645-3704 includes a large block of Tārā commentaries (nos. 3666-3696) which are probably Kriyā-Tantra works for the most part. Certainly the ones by Candragomin are Kriyā-Tantra.

[22]. However, nos. 766-767 are really one work in two *brtag pa* called *sṅa* and *phyi*.

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The above ends the analysis of the Kanjur *Rgyud ḥbum* correlated to Tanjur exegesis. In addition the Tanjur has a section of generalities pertaining to all four Tantras.

	Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Cordier, Leḥu 21:	
1. General on all four Tantras.	
The *Vajrāvali*, *Niṣpannayogāvali*, and *Jyotirmañjarī*, by Abhayākaragupta	3140-3142
2. Sādhana collections.	
a. Pa-tshab sgrub thabs brgya rtsa	3143-3304
b. Ba-ri sgrub thabs brgya rtsa	3306-3399
c. Sgrub thabs rgya mtsho	3400-3644
d. Lha so so sna tshogs kyi sgrub thabs	3645-3704
3. Preparation of maṇḍala.	3705-3706
Cordier, Leḥu 22:	
1. Distinctions among the 3 Yānas and 4 Tantras	3707-3720
2. Samaya and saṃvara (pledges and vows)	3721-3729
3. Cycle of Dharmapāla, Vasudeva, etc.	3730-3755
Cordier, Leḥu 23:	
Miscellaneous, *cho ga*, etc.	3756-3785
Cordier, Leḥu 24:	
Later translations.[23] In Derge Tanjur:	3305

* * *

[23]. Most of these translations are not included in the Derge Kanjur. When they are, they have been incorporated in earlier sections, except for the one work now mentioned, no. 3305, which the Derge edition places between the Pa-tshab and Ba-ri *sādhana* collections. The title, *Vajrācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, gives no clue to the placement. It is a large work devoted, according to the title, to the duties of the Tantric Hierophant (*vajrācārya*) who explains the Tantras, initiates others, and so on.

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VERSES ON THE ACCUMULATION OF PRECIOUS QUALITIES

(Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā रत्नगुणसंचयगाथा)

translated by

Edward Conze

[*Prefatory Note* : This translation is based on E. Obermiller's text of the *Ratnaguṇa* (Bibliotheca Buddhica XXIX, 1937), as corrected by me in *Indo-Iranian Reprints* (V, 1960) and in the *Indo-Iranian Journal* IV, 1960, pp. 37-58, and by Prof. F. Edgerton in *Indo-Iranian Journal* V, 1961, pp. 1-18. I have added headlines throughout, but the reader should bear in mind that they are my own, and form no part of the text. In the Table of Contents I have given the references to the parallel passages in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (= A), of which a printed translation is now available (The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1958, Bibliotheca Indica no. 284). The bulk (more than two-thirds) of the *Ratnaguṇa* sums up large sections (roughly one half) of the *Aṣṭa*, and some of its statements become clearer when compared with the more extensive prose version of the *Aṣṭa*. The translation of the first two chapters has previously been published in *The Middle Way* xxxii 4, 1958, pp. 136-141, and for it I have adopted a kind of rhythm. The remainder is translated quite literally, and generally speaking the division of the lines corresponds to that of the original.]

Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas!

Thereupon the Lord, in order to gladden the four assemblies, and to further lighten up this perfection of wisdom, preached at that time the following verses:

Chapter I.

Preliminary Admonition.

1. Call forth as much as you can of love, of respect and of faith!
   Remove the obstructing defilements, and clear away all your taints!
   Listen to the Perfect Wisdom of the gentle Buddhas,
   Taught for the weal of the world, for heroic spirits intended!

The source of Subhūti's authority.

2. The rivers all in this Roseapple Island[1],
   Which cause the flowers to grow, the fruits, the herbs and trees,
   They all derive from the might of the king of the Nāgas,

[1]. *Jambu-dvīpa*, the Buddhist name for the Indian subcontinent.

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From the Dragon residing in Lake Anopatapta[2], his magical power.

3. Just so, whatever dharmas the Jina's disciples[3] establish,
Whatever they teach, whatever adroitly explain—
Concerning the work of the holy which leads to the fullness of bliss,
And also the fruit of this work—it is the Tathāgata's doing.

4. For whatever the Jina[4] has taught, the Guide to the Dharma,
His pupils, if genuine, have well been trained in it.
From direct experience, derived from their training, they teach it,
Their teaching stems but from the might of the Buddhas, and not their own power.

The Basic Teachings.

5. No wisdom can we get hold of, no highest perfection,
No Bodhisattva, no thought of enlightenment either.
When told of this, if not bewildered and in no way anxious,
A Bodhisattva courses in the Well-Gone's wisdom.

6. In form, in feeling, will, perception and awareness[5]
Nowhere in them they find a place to rest on.
Without a home they wander, dharmas never hold them,
Nor do they grasp at them—the Jina's Bodhi[6] they are are bound to gain.

7. The wanderer Śreṇika in his gnosis of the truth[7]

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[2]. According to Indian mythology rain is the work of Nāgas, i.e. Serpents or Dragons, who live in lakes, etc. *Anopatapta* is the Prakrit form, used in this text, of the Sanskrit word *Anavatapta*, which means 'cool', and refers to the famous lake Manasarowara in the Himalayas.

[3]. The *Prajñāpāramitā* Sutras are in the form of dialogues between the Lord Buddha and his Disciples (*śrāvaka*), most frequently Subhūti. This raises the problem how as non-Bodhisattvas these Disciples can speak with authority on the subject of Perfect Wisdom.

[4]. "Jina", the "Victorious One", a name of the Buddha. In the second line of this verse the Buddha is also called "The Great Bull", an epithet I have omitted in the translation.

[5]. "Awareness", the fifth skandha, more usually "consciousness".

[6]. "Bodhi", Sanskrit for "enlightenment".

[7]. Śreṇika Vatsagotra was a "Wanderer", i.e. a non-Buddhist ascetic, whose conversations with the Buddha form one section of the *Saṃyuktāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins. On one occasion (Saṃy. no. 105, pp. 31c-32) Śreṇika raised the question of the "true self", which he identified with the Tathāgata. The Buddha told him that the Tathāgata could not be found in the skandhas, outside the skandhas, or in the absence of the skandhas. In a supreme act of faith Śreṇika was willing to accept the Tathāgata in spite of the fact that he could not be related to any of the skandhas.

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Could find no basis, though the skandhas had not been undone.
Just so the Bodhisattva, when he comprehends the dharmas as he should
Does not retire into Blessed Rest. In wisdom then he dwells.

8. What is this wisdom, whose and whence, he queries,
And then he finds that all these dharmas are entirely empty.
Uncowed and fearless in the face of that discovery
Not far from Bodhi is that Bodhi-being then.

9. To course[8] in the skandhas, in form, in feeling, in perception,
Will and so on, and fail to consider them wisely;
Or to imagine these skandhas as being empty;
Means to course in the sign[9], the track of non-production ignored.

10. But when he does not course in form, in feeling, or perception,
In will or consciousness, but wanders without home,
Remaining unaware of coursing firm in wisdom,
His thoughts on non-production—then the best of all the calming trances cleaves to him.

11. Through that the Bodhisattva now dwells tranquil in himself,
His future Buddhahood assured by antecedent Buddhas.
Whether absorbed in trance, or whether outside it, he minds not.
For of things as they are he knows the essential original nature.

12. Coursing thus he courses in the wisdom of the Sugatas[10],
And yet he does not apprehend the dharmas in which he courses.
This coursing he wisely knows as a no-coursing,
That is his practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.

13. What exists not, that non-existent the foolish imagine;
Non-existence as well as existence they fashion.
As dharmic facts existence and non-existence are both not real.
A Bodhisattva goes forth[11] when wisely he knows this.

The "Blessed Rest" means the Nirvāṇa which excludes the world of suffering, and the Bodhisattva should not "retire into", should not "cleave to" it.

8. "To course" means "to be attentive to", "to treat as real".

9. "Sign" is a technical term for the object of false perception. This difficult word has been explained in *Buddhist Wisdom Books* p.27, and in my Rome edition of the *Vajracchedikā*, 1957, on pp. 106-107.

10. Su-gata, "Well-Gone", a name for the Buddha.

11. "Goes forth", i.e. to enlightenment.

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14. If he knows the five skandhas as like an illusion,
But makes not illusion one thing, and the skandhas another;
If, freed from the notion of multiple things, he courses in peace-
Then that is his practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.
15. Those with good teachers as well as deep insight,
Cannot be frightened on hearing the Mother's[12] deep tenets.
But those with bad teachers, who can be misled by others,
Are ruined thereby, as an unbaked pot when in contact with moisture.

Three key terms defined.

16. What is the reason why we speak of "Bodhisattvas"?
Desirous to extinguish all attachment, and to cut it off,
True non-attachment or the Bodhi of the Jinas, is their future lot.
"Beings who strive for Bodhi" are they therefore called.
17. What is the reason why "great beings" are so called?
They rise to the highest place above a great number of people;
And of a great number of people they cut off mistaken views.
That is why we come to speak of them as "great beings".
18. Great as a giver, as a thinker, as a power,
He mounts upon the vessel[13] of the Supreme Jinas.
Armed with the great armour he'll subdue Māra the artful.
These are the reasons why "great beings" are so called.
19. This gnosis shows him all beings as like an illusion,
Resembling a great crowd of people, conjured up at the cross roads,
By a magician, who then cuts off many thousands of heads:
He knows this whole living world as a mock show, and yet remains without fear.
20. Form, perception, feeling, will and awareness
Are ununited, never bound, cannot be freed.
Uncowed in his thought he marches on to his Bodhi,
That for the highest of men is the best of all armours.
21. What then again is "the vessel that leads to the Bodhi"?
Mounted upon it one guides to Nirvāṇa all beings.
Great is that vessel, immense, vast like the vastness of space.

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[12]. The Prajñāpāramitā is the "Mother of all the Buddhas."
[13]. "Vessel", more usually "vehicle".

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Those who travel upon it are carried to safety, delight and ease.

The transcendental nature of Bodhisattvas.

22. Thus transcending the world, he eludes our apprehensions[14].
"He goes to Nirvāṇa", but no one can say where he went to.
A fire's extinguished, but where, do we ask, has it gone to?[15]
Likewise, how can we find him who has found the Rest of the Blessed?

23. The Bodhisattva's past, his future and his present must elude us,
Time's three dimensions nowhere touch him.
Quite pure he is, free from conditions, unimpeded.
That is his practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.

24. Wise Bodhisattvas, coursing thus, reflect on non-production,
And yet, while doing so, engender in themselves the great compassion,
Which is, however, free from any notion of a being.
Thereby they practise wisdom, the highest perfection.

25. But when the notion of suffering and beings leads him to think:
"Suffering I shall remove, the weal of the world I shall work!"
Beings are then imagined, a self is imagined,—
The practice of wisdom, the highest perfection, is lacking.

26. He wisely knows that all that lives is unproduced as he himself is;
He knows that all that is no more exists than he or any beings.
The unproduced and the produced are not distinguished,
That is the practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.

27. All words for things in use in this world must be left behind,
All things produced and made must be transcended—
The deathless, the supreme, incomparable gnosis is then won.
That is the sense in which we speak of perfect wisdom.

28. When free from doubts the Bodhisattva carries on his practice,
As skilled in wisdom he is known to dwell.
All dharmas are not there, their essential original nature is empty.

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[14]. "Apprehensions" here means "attempts to apprehend him, to get hold of him".

[15]. In other words, the process which follows its extinction is beyond the range of observation. The simile of the fire refers to *Sutta Nipāta* (1074, 1076): "As flame flung on by force of wind/Comes to its end, reaches what none/Can sum; the silent sage, released,/From name-and-form, goes to the goal,/Reaches the state that none can sum./When all conditions are removed,/All ways of telling also are removed."

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To comprehend that is the practice of wisdom, perfection supreme.

Chapter II.

Where Bodhisattvas stand.

1. He does not stand in form, perception or in feeling,
   In will or consciousness, in any skandha whatsoever.
   In Dharma's true nature alone he is standing.
   Then that is his practice of wisdom, the highest perfeetion.
2. Change and no change, suffering and ease, the self and not-self,
   The lovely and repulsive[16]—just one Suchness in this Emptiness they are.
   And so he takes not his stand on the fruit which he won, which is threefold—
   That of an Arhat, a Single Buddha, a Buddha fully enlightened.
3. The Leader himself was not stationed in the realm which is free from conditions,
   Nor in the things which are under conditions, but freely he wandered without a home:
   Just so, without a support or a basis a Bodhisattva is standing.
   A position devoid of a basis has that position been called by the Jina.

Wherein Bodhisattvas train.

4. Those who wish to become the Sugata's Disciples,
   Or Pratyekabuddhas, or likewise, Kings of the Dharma—
   Without resort to this Patience[17] they cannot reach their respective goals.
   They move across, but their eyes are not on the other shore.
5. Those who teach dharma, and those who listen when it is being taught;
   Those who have won the fruit of an Arhat, a Single Buddha, or a world-Saviour;
   And the Nirvāṇa obtained by the wise and the learned—
   Mere illusions, mere dreams—so has the Tathāgata taught us.
6. Four kinds of persons are not alarmed by this teaching:
   Sons of the Jina skilled in the truths; saints unable to turn back[18],

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[16]. This list refers to the four "perverted views".

[17]. Here understood as an intellectual virtue, which enables us to accept without undue perturbation the fact that nothing at all exists in any true sense of the word.

[18]. At one stage of their career the saints can no longer turn back on enlightenment, but are bound to proceed until they become Arhats, Pratyekabuddhas or Buddhas.

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Arhats free from defilements and taints, and rid of their doubts;
Those whom good teachers mature are reckoned the fourth kind.

7. Coursing thus, the wise and learned Bodhisattva,
Trains not for Arhatship, nor on the level of Pratyekabuddhas.
In the Buddha-dharma alone he trains for the sake of all-knowledge.
No training is his training, and no one is trained in thic training.

8. Increase or decrease of forms is not the aim of this training,
Nor does he set out to acquire various dharmas.
All-knowledge alone he can hope to acquire by this training.
To that he goes forth when he trains in this training, and delights in its virtues.

The Facts of Existence.

9. Forms are not wisdom, nor is wisdom found in form,
In consciousness, perceptions, feeling, or in will.
They are not wisdom, and no wisdom is in them.
Like space it is, without a break or crack.

10. Of all objective supports the essential original nature is boundless;
Of beings likewise the essential original nature is boundless.
As the essential original nature of space has no limits,
Just so the wisdom of the World-knowers is boundless.

11. "Perceptions"—mere words, so the Leaders have told us;
Perceptions forsaken and gone, and the door is open to the Beyond.
Those who succeed in ridding themselves of perceptions,
They, having reached the Beyond, fulfil the Teacher's commandments.

12. If for aeons countless as the sands of the Ganges
The Leader would himself continue to pronounce the word 'being' :
Still, pure from the very start[19], no being could ever result from his speaking.
That is the practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.

Conclusion.

13. And so the Jina concludes his preaching, and finally tells us :
"When all I said and did at last agreed with perfect wisdom,
Then this prediction I received from Him who went before me[20] :

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[19]. "Pure" here means "empty".

[20]. i.e. the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni's 24th predecessor, who prophesied his future Buddhahood. For the full story see *Buddhist Scriptures*, 1959, pp. 20-24.

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"Fully enlightened, at a future time thou shalt a Buddha be!" "

Chapter III.

The merit derived from perfect wisdom.

1. One who will take up this Perfection of Wisdom,
   Wherein the Saviours course, and constantly study it;
   Fire, poison, sword and water cannot harm him,
   And also Māra finds no entrance, nor his host.
2. Someone may for the Sugata who went to rest build Stūpas,
   Made of the seven precious things, and worship them;
   Until thousands of koṭis of fields are filled with these Stūpas
   Of the Sugata, countless as the sands of the Ganges;
3. And like him as many beings again as there are in endless koṭis of fields,
   They all would do worship, without doing anything else,—
   With heavenly flowers and the best perfumes and unguents,—
   Let us reckon for aeons in the three periods, and still more than that:
4. But if someone else had copied this book, the Mother of the Sugatas,
   From which come forth the Guides with the ten powers,
   Would bear it in mind, revere it with flowers and unguents,—
   An infinitesimal portion of his merit would have those who had given worship to the Stūpas.

Perfect Wisdom a Great Lore.

5. This Perfection of Wisdom of the Jinas is a great lore,
   Appeasing dharmas making for sorrow and ill in many a world of beings.
   The Saviours of the World in the past, and in the future, and those (now) in the ten directions,
   They have, by training in this lore, become the supreme physicians.
6. And (also) those who course in the practice of pity and concern for the welfare of others,
   They, the wise, by having trained in this lore, will experience enlightenment.
   Those who have conditioned happiness, and those who have unconditioned happiness,
   All their happiness should be known as having issued from this.

Perfect Wisdom and the other perfections.

7. Gems exist potentially scattered in the earth,

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And, when conditions are favourable, they grow in great variety:
All the qualities of enlightenment (that are in) the five perfections,
They all grow from the perfection of wisdom.

8. Wherever, we know, the Universal Monarch may travel,
There is all the army of all the seven precious things:
Wherever there is this perfection of wisdom of the Jinas,
There also all dharmas of good quality are brought along.

Chapter IV.

Relative value of relics and perfect wisdom.

1. Asked a question by the Jina, Śakra answered:
"If I could have Buddhafields like the sands of the river Ganges,
All of them filled to the top with the relics of the Jinas:
Nevertheless I would still take just this wisdom, the foremost of the perfections.

2. For what reason? It is not that I lack in respect for the relics,
But they are worshipped because they are fostered by wisdom.
Just as every man who is supported by the king gets worship,
Just so the Buddha-relics,-because they are supported by the perfection of wisdom.

Simile of the Wishing Jewel.

3. A precious gem, in possession of all qualities, priceless,
The basket in which it may be, should be paid homage to;
Even when it has been taken out, the basket continues to emit its radiance:
Such are the qualities of that gem.

4. Just so it is with the qualities of wisdom, the foremost perfection,
Which gain worship for the relics of the Jina even after he has gone to rest.
Therefore let him who wants to win the Jina-qualities
Take up the perfection of wisdom. She is the liberation".

Perfect Wisdom and the other five perfections.

5. (The Lord then said:) "Wisdom controls him who gives gifts,
And also morality, patience, vigour and concentration.
She takes hold of the wholesome dharmas so that they may not be lost.
She alone is also the one who reveals all dharmas.

Simile of the shadows.

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6. There are in Jambudvīpa many thousands of koṭis of trees,
Of different species, manifold and different in form;
And yet there would not also be a difference between their shadows,
But when one speaks they are all equally reckoned as shadows:
7. Just so do these five perfections of the Jinas
Have their name from the perfection of wisdom:
When they are being turned over into all-knowledge,
The name of enlightenment provides one single principle for all the six of them.

Chapter V.

The counterfeit and the true perfection of wisdom.

1. When a Bodhisattva (falsely) reveals form, preception, feeling, will,
Or thought as impermanent (claiming that they are destroyed),—
In the counterfeit (perfection of wisdom) he courses, considering not wisely;
Because the learned never effect the destruction of a dharma.
2. Wherein of form, of feeling, or perception,
Or consciousness, or will there is no apprehension:
By the method of emptiness and non-production (he) cognizes all dharmas.
This is the practice of wisdom, the foremost perfection.

Perfect wisdom greater than any other spiritual gift.

3. If someone would discipline in Arhatship as many beings
As there are in fields equal to the sands of the river Ganges:
And if someone else, having copied this perfection of wisdom,
Would give the book to another being,—his would be the more distinguished merit.
4. For what reason ? The supreme Teachers, trained in this,
Make all dharmas intelligible in this emptiness.
When they have learned that[21], the Disciples speedily experience their own kind of emancipation,
Others experience Pratyekabuddha-enlightenment, others again the Buddha-enlightenment.

Importance of the thought of enlightenment.

5. Where there is no sprout, there can in the world be no tree.

[21]. i.e. the emptiness, or the Dharma.

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How can therein be the production of branches, leaves, fruits or flowers ?
Without the aspiration for enlightenment there is no possibility of a Jina in the world.
How then could Śakra, Brahma, fruit and disciples manifest themselves ?

6. When the orb of the sun sends forth a multitude of light,
Then beings exert themselves in doing their work:
So, when the thought of enlightenment has come into being for the sake of knowing the world[22],
Through its cognition all the dharmas of quality are assembled.

7. If there were no Chief of the Serpents in his Anavatapta (Lake),
How could there be here in Jambudvīpa a flowing along of the rivers ?
And if there were no rivers, fruits and flowers could not possibly be,
And there would also be no manifold jewels in the oceans.

8. So, if there were no thought of enlightenment, how could there be
The flowing along of the cognition of the Tathāgata in all these worlds ?
And if there is no cognition, there can be no growth of the virtues,
No enlightenment, nor the ocean-like dharmas of the Buddha.

The sun and the fire-fly.

9. If all the light-emitting animals everywhere in this world
Would, for the purpose of illumination, shed light:
One single ray, issued from the orb of the sun, outshines them all,
And infinitesimal would be all the lustre of the hosts of light-emitting animals.

Chapter VI.

Supreme merit of dedication and jubilation.

1. How ever much merit the hosts of Disciples may beget,
Associated with giving, morality, and (meditational) development:
But if a Bodhisattva rejoices with one single thought,
There would (by comparison) be no mass of merit in all the hosts of the Disciples.

The range of jubilation.

2. If we take the Niyutas of Koṭis of Buddhas, who have gone by in the past period of time,

[22]. The translation of this line is uncertain. The Tibetan may perhaps mean: "For the cognition of the wise has the thought of enlightenment come into being in the world".

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And those who just now abide in endlessly many thousands of koṭis of Buddha-fields;
And also those Saviours of the world who, having gone to Parinirvāṇa,
Will demonstrate the jewel of Dharma for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering;

3. If we consider the merit of those Jinas during the period
Beginning with the first production of the thought of the foremost enlightenment,
Until the time of the extinction of the good Dharma of the Guides,—
And the dharmas connected with the perfections, and also the Buddhadharmas;
4. And also the merit of the offspring of the Buddhas, and of the Disciples,
Be they in training or adepts, with outflows or without,–
Having heaped it all up, the Bodhisattva rejoices at it,
And turns it all over to the enlightenment which is linked with the weal of the world.

True and false Turning-over.

5. When in one who turns over there proceeds the perception of a thought,
Or if the turning over of the perception of enlightenment involves the perception of a being:
Established in perception, false views, and thought, it is tied by the triple attachment.

It does not become turned over to those who apprehend it.

6. But when he thus cognizes: These dharmas are extinct and stopped,
And wherein they are turned over, that is also extinct;
Nor is ever anywhere a dharma turned over into a dharma:
Then it does become turned over in one who thus considers wisely.
7. When he makes a sign, he does not turn over (to enlightenment),
But if (he turns to it as) the signless, (that) becomes turned over into enlightenment.

Just as though food mixed with poison were good to eat,
So has the taking of pure dharmas as a basis been spoken of by the Jina.

8. Therefore thus should one train in turning over:
As the Jinas wisely know that wholesome (root),—
Its class as it is, its origins as they are, its characteristics as they are,—
Thus do I rejoice (in that wholesome root), thus do I turn (it) over.

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9. And thus turning merit over into enlightenment,
He does not upset the Buddha, one who preaches what the Jina has taught.
As many as there are in the world Bodhisattvas who lean on a basis
All of them surpasses the hero who turns over in this way.

Chapter VII.

Perfect Wisdom guides the other perfections.

1. How can those Niyutas of koṭis of born-blind, who are without a guide,
Who are not conversant with the way, find an entrance to the city?
Without wisdom these five perfection are eye-less:
Those who are without the guide are unable to experience enlightenment.
2. When they are taken hold of by wisdom.
Then, having gained the eye, do they get that designation (i.e "perfection").
It is like a (religious) painting (of a deity or a saint) which is complete except for the eyes.
Only after the eyes are painted in does one get one's fee.

The attitude to dharmas and to the self.

3. When one who develops wisdom to the end does not seize on the least dharma,
Conditioned or unconditioned, dark or bright;
Then one comes to speak in the world of the perfection of wisdom,
(Which is like) space, wherein nothing real whatsoever is established.
4. When he thinks, 'I course in the wisdom of the Jinas,
I will set free Niyutas of beings touched by many ills':
This Bodhisattva is one who imagines the notion of beings,
And this is not the practice of wisdom, the foremost perfection.

Faith in the Perfection of Wisdom.

5. The Bodhisattva who has observed this foremost perfection,
When in the past he served (the Buddhas), is learned and does not doubt:
As soon as he has heard it he will again recognise the Teacher,
And he will swiftly understand the Peaceful Calm of enlightenment.
6. Though in the past he has honoured millions of Buddhas, and served them,
If without faith in the Jina's perfection of wisdom,
Hearing of it, he will cast it away, one of small intelligence;
After he cast it away, he will go the Avīci Hell, and no one can save him.
7. Therefore, have faith in this Mother of all the Jinas,

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If you wish to experience the utmost Buddha-cognition:
Let him be like a merchant, who has travelled to the treasure island,
And who, having lost his goods[23] would (nevertheless) again return (to it).

Chapter VIII.

The meaning of purity.

1. The purity of form should be known from the purity of the fruit.
From the purity of form and fruit is the purity of all-knowledge.
The purity of all-knowledge and of the fruit, and the purity of form:
As with the sameness of the space-element, they are not broken nor cut apart.
2. Having transcended what belongs to the triple world, the Bodhisattvas,
(Although their) defilements (are) removed, exhibit (their) rebirth;
(Although) freed from decay, illness and death, they exhibit decease,-
This is the perfection of wisdom in which course the constantly wise.
3. This world is attached to the mud of name-and-form.
The wheel of birth-and-death revolves, similar to a wind-wheel.
Having cognized the revolving world as like a snare for wild beasts
The wise roam about similar to the birds in space.
4. He who, coursing perfectly pure, does not course in form,
Nor in consciousness, perception, feeling or will;
Thus coursing he shuns all attachments.
Freed from attachments he courses in thee wisdom of the Sugatas.

Chapter IX.

All-round purity.

1. Thus coursing, the wise and learned Bodhisattva,
Having cut off his attachments, marches on unattached to the world.
As the Sun, released from the planet Rāhu, blazes forth,
Or as fire, let loose, burns up grass, log and forest.
2. The Bodhisattva sees that all dharmas and Perfection of Wisdom
Are pure, perfectly pure, in their essential original nature.
But he does not seize on one who sees, nor on all dharmas.
This is the practice of wisdom, the foremost perfection.

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23. used up his merchandise ?

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Chapter X.

Qualifications for Perfect Wisdom.

1. Śakra, King of Gods, asks the Jina :
"Coursing in wisdom, how is the Bodhisattva 'engaged in' it ?"
"Who is 'joined' to not the least thing whatsoever, be it skandha, or element,
He who is 'engaged' thus, that Bodhisattva is 'joined' (to wisdom).
2. As one set out for long in the vehicle should that being be known,
As one who has done his duty under many Niyutas of koṭis of Buddhas,
Who, when he has heard that these dharmas are fictitious and like an illusion,
Does not hesitate, but makes efforts to train himself.

The simile of a village.

3. If a man (coming out of) a wilderness extending over many miles
Would see cowherds, or boundary lines, or woods :
He (then) regains his breath, and has no (more) fear of thieves :
(For he knows that) these are signs that a village or city is quite near :
4. Just so the one who searches for enlightenment, when he learns of this wisdom,
The foremost perfection of the Jinas, and gets hold of it :
He regains his breath, and he has no (more) fear,
Not even that of (falling on) the level of an Arhat or the level of a Pratyekabuddha.

The simile of the ocean.

5. As long as a man who travels to the watery ocean in order to see it,
Still sees the trees and forests of the Himalayas, (he is far from it).
But when he no longer sees these signs, he becomes free from doubt, (and knows that)
'Quite near is the great ocean, it is not too far away' :
6. Just so should be known one who has set out for the foremost enlightenment,
And who is learning about this perfection of wisdom of the Jinas.
Although he is not one who has face to face been predicted by the Leader,
He knows that 'before long I will experience the Buddha-enlightenment'.

The simile of spring.

7. In beautiful spring-time, when the stalks and leaves have come out,
From the branches will, before long, come forth (more) leaves, and fruits and flowers :
One who has been taken in hand by this perfection of wisdom,

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Before long he will attain the foremost enlightenment of the Leaders.

The simile of the pregnant woman.

8. When a pregnant woman is all astir with pains,
One should know that the time has come for her to give birth :
Just so will the Bodhisattva, if on hearing of the wisdom of the Jinas
He beholds her with delight and zest, speedily experience enlightenment".

How to dwell in Perfect wisdom.

9. "When the Yogin is coursing in wisdom, the supreme perfection,
He does not see the growth of form, nor its diminution.
If someone does not see dharma, nor no-dharma, nor the Dharma-element[24]
And if he does not experience the Blessed Rest, then he dwells in wisdom.

10. When he courses therein, he does not imagine the Buddhadharmas,
Nor the powers, nor the roads to psychic power, nor does he imagine the Calm of enlightenment.
Not discriminating, free from constructions, coursing on resolutely,
This is the practice of wisdom, the foremost perfection."

Chapter XI.

The theme.

1. Subhūti asks the Buddha, the moon of the Doctrine :
"Will there be any obstacles to the precious qualities ?"
"Many obstacles there will be", preaches the Teacher.
"Of them I will proclaim just a few only :

Various Obstacles.

2. Diverse and manifold flashes of ideas will arise in him
When he copies out this wisdom, the perfection of the Jinas.
Then again they will speedily vanish, like lightning,
Without benefit to the weal of the world. This is one deed of Māra.

3. And he may have some doubts when it is being taught :
'My name is not proclaimed by the Leader therein;
Nor are the circumstances of my birth; nor my birthplace or clan'.
Because of that they will not listen, and reject it. That also is Māra's deed.

The Bodhisattva-path and the Disciple-path.

4. Just as, in his ignorance someone would give up the root,

[24]. So the Tibetan. Perhaps, "but only the Dharma-element" ?

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And prefer, the deluded, the branches and foliage;
(Or) as one who, when he had got an elephant, would want an elephant's foot instead;—
Thus would be one who, having heard the Prajñāpāramitā, would wish for the Sūtras (of the Disciples instead).

5. Just as one who had got superior food of a hundred (different) tastes,
Would, although he has got the best food of all, nevertheless seek for inferior food.
So would be a Bodhisattva who, having got this perfection,
Would seek for enlightenment on the level of an Arhat.

More Obstacles.

6. They will want honour, they will want gain,
In their hearts longing for them, intent on familiarity with the families (of the faithful).
Having spurned what is right (Dharma), they will do what is wrong;
Having left the right path, they have gone on to a wrong road. This also is Māra's deed.

7. Even though at first they have produced faith,
Keen to hear this most excellent dharma;
When they find that the dharma-preacher is disinclined to do his work,
They will go away, devoid of joy and very sad.

Māra's deeds and the Buddha's help.

8. When these deeds of Māra will take place,
Together with many other diverse and manifold obstacles,
Then many monks will be troubled thereby,
And will not bear in mind this Prajñāpāramitā.

9. Where there are jewels which are priceless
And hard to get, their owners invariably have many foes.
Just so this wisdom, the foremost perfection of the Jinas,
Is the Dharma-jewel hard to get, and (connected with) many troubles.

10. When a being has newly set out in the vehicle, and is limited in his intelligence,
He does not (at once) obtain this Dharma-jewel, hard to get.
Māra will then be zealous to cause obstacles.
But the Buddhas in the ten directions will be intent on helping.

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Chapter XII.

Perfect Wisdom the mother of the Buddhas.

1. If a mother with many sons had fallen ill,
They all, sad in mind, would busy themselves about her:
Just so also the Buddhas in the world system in its ten directions
Bring to mind this perfection of wisdom as their mother.

2. The Saviours of the world who were in the past, and also those that are (just now) in the ten directions,
Have issued from her, and so will the future ones be.
She is the one who shows the world (for what it is), she is the genetrix, the mother of the Jinas,
And she reveals the thoughts and actions of other beings.

How the Tathāgata knows the world.

3. The Suchness of the world, the Suchness of the Arhats,
The Suchness of Pratyekabuddhas, and the Suchness of the Jinas,—
As just one single Suchness free from existence, unaltering,
Has the perfection of wisdom been understood by the Tathāgata.

4. Whether the wise abide in the world, or whether they have gone to final Nirvāṇa,
Firmly established remains this fixed sequence of Dharmahood: "Dharmas are empty".
It is that Suchness (*tathatā*) which the Bodhisattvas understand.
Therefore then have the Buddhas been given the name of "Tathāgatas".

5. This is the sphere of the Guides, with their own powers,
Who reside in the delightful forests of the perfection of wisdom.
Although they fetch suffering beings out of the three places of woe,
Yet they never have anywhere the notion of a being.

Similes about the Buddha.

6. When a lion, residing in his mountain cave,
Roars fearlessly, the lesser beasts are made to tremble:
Likewise, when the lion of Men, depending on the perfection of wisdom,
Roars fearlessly, the many heretics are made to tremble.

7. Just as the rays of the sun, supported by the ether,
Dry up this earth, and do reveal its form:
Just so the King of the Dharma, supported by the perfection of wisdom,

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Dries up the river of craving and reveals the Dharma.

The Tathāgata's vision of Dharma.

8. Wherein there is no vision of form, no vision of feelings,
No vision of perception, no vision of will,
No vision of consciousness, thought or mind,
This has been expounded as the vision of Dharma by the Tathāgata.
9. A vision in space is a being, so they declare.
A vision like that of space, so should you consider that object!
Thus has the vision of Dharma been expounded by the Tathāgata.
But it is not possible to report on that vision by definite statements (that differ from it).

Chapter XIII.

Simile of the king and his ministers.

1. Who sees thus, he sees all dharmas.
When the minister does everything, the king is evenminded.
Whatever Buddha-actions there are, whatever dharmas of the Disciples,
It is the perfection of wisdom which effects them all.
2. A king does not travel to villages or into the countryside;
But in his own home is the meeting-place where he assembles all:
Just so the Bodhisattva does not move away from the dharmic nature of dharmas,
But he assembles all the qualities in the Buddhadharmas[25].

Chapter XIV.

The Bodhisattva and Enlightenment.

1. The Bodhisattva who has firm faith in the Sugata,
Who is resolutely intent on the supreme perfection of wisdom;
Gone beyond the two levels of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas,
He will swiftly attain, unhindered, the enlightenment of the Jinas.

The simile of the ship.

2. When a ship breaks up in the ocean,
Those who do not get hold of a corpse, a stick or a log,
Go to their destruction in the midst of the water, without having gained the

[25]. The Tibetan has, "on the Buddha-stage".

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shore;
But those who hold on to something, travel to the other shore and reach it:

3. Just so those who, although endowed with some faith and in possession of some serenity,
Reject the perfection of wisdom, the mother:
In the ocean of birth-and-death they must wander about for ever and ever,
In birth, decay, death, sorrow, turmoil, and the breaking up (of limbs).

4. But those who have been taken hold of by the supreme wisdom,
Skilled in seeing the own-being of existence, seers of ultimate reality:
They are persons worthy of the vehicle who have collected the wealth of merit and cognition.
They will speedily experience the exceedingly wonderful Sugata-enlightenment.

The simile of the jar.

5. It is as if someone would transport water in an unbaked jar;
One should know that it will break quickly, because it does not hold the water well.
But when water is transported in a fully baked jar, that on the way
It might break there is no fear, and it gets safely to the house:

6. Although the Bodhisattva be full of faith,
If deficient in wisdom he swiftly reaches destruction.
But when taken hold of by both faith and by wisdom,
Gone beyond the two levels he will attain the supreme enlightenment.

The simile of the ship.

7. A ship, which is not well got ready, in the ocean
Goes to destruction, together with its goods and merchants.
But when a ship is well got ready, and well joined together,
Then it does not break up, and all the goods get to the (other) shore.

8. Just so a Bodhisattva, exalted in faith,
But deficient in wisdom, swiftly comes to a failure in enlightenment.
But when he is well joined to wisdom, the foremost perfection,
He experiences, unharmed and uninjured, the enlightenment of the Jinas.

The simile of the aged man.

9. An aged man, ailing, one hundred and twenty years old,
Although he may have got up, is not capable of walking on his own;

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But when two men, both to his right and left, have taken hold of him
He does not feel any fear of falling, and he moves along at ease:
10. Just so a Bodhisattva, who is weak in wisdom,
Although he sets out, he breaks down midway;
But when he is taken hold of by skilful means and by the best wisdom,
Then he does not break down: he experiences the enlightenment of the mightiest of men.

Chapter XV.

The beginner and the good friends.

1. The Bodhisattvas who stand on the stage of beginners,
Who with resolute intention have set out for the supreme enlightenment of a Buddha,
They, the discerning, should, as good pupils intent on respect for their Gurus,—
Always tend their spiritual teachers (who are their "good friends").
2. For what reason? From that (tending) come the qualities of the learned.
They (the good friends) (are those who) instruct in the perfection of wisdom.
Thus preaches the Jina, the holder of all the best qualities:
'Dependent on the good friend are the Buddhadharmas',

How a Bodhisattva helps beings.

3. Giving, morality, also patience and vigour,
The concentrations and wisdom should be turned over into enlightenment.
But one should not grab at enlightenment, having considered (it as belonging to) the skandhas.
It is thus that it should be demonstrated to beginners.
4. Coursing thus, the Oceans of Qualities, the Moons of the doctrine
Become the shelter of the world, its refuge, and its place of rest;
The means of salvation (route), the intelligence, the islands, leaders who desire its welfare;
The light, the torch, teachers of the foremost Dharma, imperturbable.
5. An armour difficult to wear the greatly determined put on;
But they are not armed with the skandhas, elements or sensefields;
They are free from the notion of the three vehicles, and have not taken hold of it;
They are irreversible, immovable, and steadfast in their character.

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6. Being thus endowed with dharma, unimpeded,
Freed from hesitations, perplexity and consternation, intent on what is beneficial,
Having heard the perfection of wisdom, they do not despair.
They should be known as incapable of being led astray by others, as irreversible.

Perfect Wisdom and its conflict with the world.

7. Deep is this dharma of the Leaders, hard to see,
Nor is it obtained by anyone, nor do they reach it.
For that reason, when he has obtained enlightenment, the Benevolent and Compassionate
Becomes unconcerned,—"what body of beings will cognize this?"
8. For beings delight in a place to settle in, they are eager for sense-objects,
Bent on grasping, unintelligent, and quite blinded.
The Dharma should be attained as nothing to settle in and as nothing to grasp.
Its conflict with the world is manifest.

Chapter XVI.

On Suchness.

1. The space-element in the Eastern direction, and in the Southern,
And so in the Western and Northern directions is boundless;
Above and below, in the ten directions, as far as it goes
There is no multiplicity, and no difference is attained.
2. Past Suchness, future Suchness,
Present Suchness, the Suchness of the Arhats,
The Suchness of all dharmas, the Suchness of the Jinas,—
All that is the Dharma-Suchness, and no difference is attained.

Wisdom and skill in means.

3. If a Bodhisattva wishes to reach this
Enlightenment of the Sugatas, free from differentiated dharmas,
He should practise the perfection of wisdom, joined to skill in means.
Without wisdom there is not the attainment of the Leaders of men.
4. A bird with a frame one hundred and fifty miles large
Would have little strength if its wings were lost or feeble:
If it should jump down to Jambudvīpa from the abodes of the Gods of the

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It would travel to its destruction.

5. Even if he would procure these five perfections of the Jinas
For many Niyutas of Koṭis of aeons,
And would all the time tend the world with an infinite abundance of vows;—
If he is without skill in means, deficient in wisdom, he falls into Discipleship.

The desirable attitude to other beings.

6. If he wishes to go forth into this Buddha-cognition,
He (should have) an even mind towards the whole world, the notion of father and mother (towards all beings);
He should exert himself with a thought of benevolence, and a friendly mind;
Amenable and straight, he should be soft in his speech

Chapter XVII.

The theme.

1. The Elder Subhūti questions the Saviour of the World:
"Teach the characteristics of those who are secluded in Peace, of the Oceans of Qualities,
How they become irreversible, and of great might.
Declare, O Jina, their qualities, merely by way of outline".

Qualities of irreversible Bodhisattvas.

2. They are free from the perception of multiplicity; they speak suitably;
They do not take refuge with outside Śramaṇas or Brāhmaṇas.
The wise have avoided for all time the three places of woe,
And they are practised in the ten wholesome paths of action.
3. Free from self-interest they instruct the world in Dharma.
They take delight in the Dharma. They always speak gently.
Standing, walking, lying down, sitting, they are fully conscious (of what they are doing).
They walk along looking ahead only one yoke, their thoughts not wandering about.
4. They wear garments clean and unsoiled. They become pure through the threefold detachment[26].
Majestic men they want no gain, but always Dharma.

[26]. i.e. purity of body, speech and mind.

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They have passed beyond Māra's realms. Others cannot lead them astray.
They meditate in the four trances, but they do not use those trances as a support (for a better rebirth).

5. They do not want fame, their hearts are not overcome by anger.
As householders they remain constantly unattached to their entire property.
They do not seek to earn their livelihood in the wrong way,
Through bewitchment-spells, or the spells which are the work of women.

6. Nor do they (earn a living by) tell(ing) plausible lies to men and women.
Practised in the quite detached wisdom, the best of perfections,
Free from quarrels and disputes, their thoughts firmly friendly,
They want (to see) the all-knowing, their thoughts always inclined towards the religion.

7. They have avoided the barbarous populations of outlying districts, of the border regions.
They are free from doubts about their own stage, always fashioned like Meru.
For the sake of Dharma they renounce their very life, intent on their practice.
These should be wisely known as the characteristics of the irreversible.

Chapter XVIII.

Deep Stations.

1. Deep are form, feeling and will,
Consciousness and perception; signless in their essential original nature, and calm.
Like one who tries to reach the bottom of the ocean with a stalk,
So, when the skandhas have been considered with wisdom, one does not get to the bottom of them.

2. When a Bodhisattva thus understands that these dharmas
In the deep vehicle are in the ultimate sense stainless;
Wherein there is neither skandha, nor sense-field, nor element,
How can there be to him the attainment of his own merit anywhere?

The simile of the woman.

3. As a man, preoccupied with matters of greed, had made a date
With a woman, and would, not having met her, indulge in many thoughts;
As many preoccupations as he would have (in his mind) during a day,

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For so many aeons does a Bodhisattva strive to reach his goal.

Considerations of Merit.

4. If a Bodhisattva would for many thousands of koṭis of aeons
Give spotless gifts, and would equally guard his morality.
And if another one were to preach the dharma associated with wisdom, the foremost perfection,—
The merit from giving and morality would (by comparison) be infinitesimal.

5. When a Bodhisattva, having meditated on the foremost wisdom,
Emerged therefrom(i.e. that meditation) preaches the stainless Dharma,
And turns over also (the merit from) that to the enlightenment linked to the weal of the world:
There is nothing that is lovely in the triple world that could become equal to him.

6. And just that merit is declared to be just worthless,
And likewise empty, insignificant, void and unsubstantial.
Thus coursing he courses in the wisdom of the Sugatas.
Coursing (thus) he acquires immeasurable merit.

No growth or diminution.

7. As mere talk he cognizes all these dharmas
Which the Buddha has demonstrated, practised and revealed.
Though he may teach for many niyutas of koṭis of aeons,
Yet the Dharma-element does not get exhausted nor does it increase.

8. And as to these five perfections of the Jinas,
These dharmas also have been proclaimed as mere words.
The Bodhisattva who turns over, without putting his mind to it,
Does not fail[27]; but he experiences the supreme Buddha-enlightenment.

Chapter XIX.

Conditioned co-production and the simile of the lamp.

1. The wick of a burning oil lamp,—it is not by the first incidence (of the flame)
That the wick is burned (away); nor is it burned (away) when (that incidence) is not, without it.
Nor is the wick burned (away) by the last incidence of the flame,
And also when that last flame is not does the lamp-wick not burn away.

[27] *na ca hīyate.* In A it is Suchness of which it is said that *na parihīyate.*

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2. By the first thought (of enlightenment) one does not experience the foremost enlightenment,
And again, when that is not there, one is not able to experience it;
Nor does the last thought arrive at the Bliss,
Nor again, when it is not there, is one able to reach it.

The simile of the seed and the fruit.

3. From a seed, trees, fruits, and flowers come forth;
When it is obstructed, or absent, then there is no tree from it.
Just so the first thought is, of course, the foundation of enlightenment;
But when it is obstructed or absent, there is no enlightenment from it.
4. Conditioned by seeds grow barley, rice and so on;
Their fruits are in these (seeds), and yet they are not in them.
When this enlightenment of the Jinas arises,
What takes place is an illusion, which in its own-being is without existence.

The simile of the water drops.

5. Water drops fill a water jar drop by drop,
Gradually, from the first incidence to the last one.
Just so the first thought is the (initial) cause of supreme enlightenment;
Gradually are the bright qualities fulfilled in the Buddhas.

The meaning of Emptiness.

6. He courses in dharmas as empty, signless and wishless;
But he does not experience the Blessed Rest, nor does he course in a sign:
As a skilful ferryman goes from this (shore) to the other shore,
But does not stand at either end, nor does he stand in the great flood.
7. Thus coursing, the Bodhisattva also does not think:
'Predestined by those who have the ten powers, may I experience enlightenment!'
Nor is he trembling (because he sees that) enlightenment is here not anything.
Thus coursing he becomes one who courses in the wisdom of the Sugatas.

The attitude to places which might inspire fear.

8. When they have seen a world which is a wilderness, full of famine and disease,
They have no fear, and go on putting on the armour.
For the wise are always joined to the limit which is further on.

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They do not produce the least fatigue in their minds.

Chapter XX.

The three Doors to Deliverance, and the Buddhadharmas.

1. Furthermore, the Bodhisattva who courses in the wisdom of the Jinas
Cognizes these skandhas as unproduced, as empty from the beginning.
Even during the time that unconcentrated he views in compassion the world of beings,
He does not become destitute of the Buddhadharmas.

The simile of the hero.

2. A skilful man, endowed with all qualities,
Powerful, unassailable, well-qualified, instructed in many arts,
Perfect in archery, devoted to many crafts,
Perfect in knowing the various forms of magical illusion, keen on the welfare of the world
3. Takes his mother and father, together with his sons and daughters
And enters a wilderness, full of many hostile forces.
He conjures up many men, heroic champions,
Gets away safely, and again goes back to his home:
4. Just so at that time when a wise Bodhisattva
Extends the great friendliness to all in the world of beings,
Having passed beyond the four Māras, and the two levels,
He permanently abides in the best of concentrations, but he does not experience enlightenment.

The simile of the cosmos.

5. Supported by space is air, and (by that) the mass of water;
By that again is supported this great earth and the (living) world.
If the foundation of the enjoyment of the deeds of beings
Is thus established in space, how can one think of that object ?[28]
6. Just so the Bodhisattva, who is established in emptiness
Manifests manifold and various works to beings in the world,
And his vows and cognitions are a force which sustains beings.
But he does not experience the Blessed Rest; for emptiness is not a place to

[28]. The Tibetan seems to construe: "If the foundation...is like this, How can it have its standing place in space ? Reflect on that object !"

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stand on.

7. At the time when the wise and learned Bodhisattva
Courses in this most excellent quietude of the concentration on emptiness,
During that time no sign should be exalted,
Nor should he stand in the signless; for he is one who courses calm and quiet.

The simile of the flying bird.

8. A flying bird has no footing in the intermediate space.
It does not stand on it, nor does it fall to the ground.
So the Bodhisattva who courses in the doors to freedom
Neither experiences the Blessed Rest, nor does he course in the sign.

The simile of the archer.

9. As a man trained in archery shoots an arrow upwards,
And then again other arrows in (quick) succession,
Without giving (a chance) to the first one to fall to the ground
Until he wishes the arrow to fall to the ground.

10. Just so someone who courses in wisdom, the best of perfections,
And who accomplishes wisdom, skill in means, the powers and the ability to work wonders:
As long as these wholesome roots remain unfulfilled
So long he does not obtain that most excellent emptiness.

The simile of the twin miracle.

11. A monk, endowed with the most excellent ability to work wonders
Standing in the sky performs the twin miracle:
He exhibits the coming and going, the lying down and the sitting;
But he cannot be made to desist, nor does he fell exhausted however long he may be in it.

12 Just so the wise Bodhisattva, standing in emptiness,
Perfect in cognition and the ability to work wonders, wandering without a home,
Manifests an endless variety of works to the world,
But he cannot be worn down, nor does he fell exhausted for koṭis of aeons.

The simile of the parachutes.

13. It is as with some men who have stood on a high cliff;
If they held a parachute in each hand and would jump off into space,
Their bodies, once they had left the high cliffs,

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Would go on falling until they had reached the ground.[29]

14. Just so the wise Bodhisattva, having stood in compassion,
Having taken hold of the two parachutes of skill in means and of wisdom,
Considers dharmas as empty, signless and wishless;
Though he does not experience the Blessed Rest, he nevertheless sees the dharmas.

The simile of the merchant and the jewel-island.

15. Someone, desirous of jewels, has travelled to the treasure island,
And, having obtained the jewels, he would again return home.
Although in those circumstances the merchant lives quite happily,
Yet he bears in mind the hosts of his suffering kinsmen:

16. Just so the Bodhisattva who has travelled to the treasure isle of Emptiness,
And has obtained the trances, faculties and powers;
Although he could experience the Blessed Rest, wholly delighting in it,
He would bear in mind all suffering beings.

The simile of the merchant and his journey.

17. As a merchant, interested in business, goes into the cities,
Market towns and villages, which he comes across on his way, so as to get acquainted with them;
But he neither abides therein, nor in the treasure island;
But he, the discerning, becomes skilful in the path (which leads) to his home[30].

18 Just so the wise Bodhisattvas who become skilful everywhere
In the cognition and emancipation of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas,
They abide not therein, nor in the Buddha-cognition,
Nor in what is conditioned. Wise as to the path becomes the one who knows the method.

The Bodhisattva undefinable.

19. At the time when he has communed with the world in friendliness.
And courses in the concentrations on emptiness, the signless and the wishless:
It is impossible that he either would (have an inclination to) reach the

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[29]. This is a tentative translation, and the text seems to require emendation.

[30]. The Tibetan understands: the discerning also does not abide in his home, but becomes skilful in the path.

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Or that he could be defined by the conditioned.

20. As a magically created man, or one who has made his body invisible,
Cannot be defined by words:
Just so the Bodhisattva who courses in the doors to freedom
Can also not be defined by words.

The Doors to Deliverance and the irreversible stage.

21. If on being questioned about the practice and the faculties
A Bodhisattva does not effect the revelation of deep dharmas
Which are empty and signless, if he fails to indicate the dharmas peculiar to
The irreversible stage, he should not be known as one who has been predicted.

Tokens of irreversibility.

22. Not the level of an Arhat nor the Pratyekabuddha-level,
Nor what belongs to the triple world does he long for in his dreams;
But he sees the Buddhas, and himself as one who preaches Dharma to the world:
Predicted as 'irreversible' should he then be known.

23. Having seen in his dreams the beings who are in the three places of woe,
He makes the vow, 'May I that very instant abolish the places of woe!'
If, through the power of his declaraction of the Truth, he appeases even a mass of fire:
Predicted as 'irreversible' should he then be known.

24. Those possessed by ghosts, with various diseases, in the world of mortals,
Through the power of his declaration of the Truth he appeases them, he who is benevolent and compassionate.
Nor does there arise to him any self-consciousness or pride.
Predicted as 'irreversible' should he then be known.

Chapter XXI.

Pride and other deeds of Māra.

1. But when there arises in him the conceit, 'I have been predestined
(Because) by (my) declaration of the Truth manifold things get accomplished',
When a Bodhisattva sets himself above other (Bodhisattvas) as one who has been predestined,
One should know that he stands in conceit, and has little intelligence.

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2. Again, as to the power of the name, Māra, having approached,
Will say (to him): "This is your name".
The lineage of (your) father and mother for seven generations backwards he runs through:
"When you are a Buddha, this will then be your name!"
3. If he is one who has behaved in accordance with the ascetic practices, a devoted Yogin,
(Māra will tell him:) "Formerly (in your past lives) you have also had these very same qualities".

The Bodhisattva who, on hearing this, becomes conceited,
One should know him to be possessed by Māra, of little intelligence.

Faults in connection with detachment.

4. Though he might practise quite detached from villages or cities in a mountain cave,

In a remote forest, or in isolated woods,—
The Bodhisattva who exalts himself, who deprecates others,
One should know him to be possessed by Māra, of little intelligence.
5. Although they may constantly dwell in a village, a royal city (or) a market town;
If therein they do not generate longing for the vehicle of the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas,
But are devoted to enlightenment for the sake of maturing beings:
Then this has been preached as the detachment of the Sugata's sons.
6. Though he may reside in mountain caves, five hundred miles wide,
Infested with wild beasts, for many koṭis of years:
That Bodhisattva does not know this (true) detachment
If he dwells contaminated by conceit.
7. When he feels superior to Bodhisattvas who practise for the weal of the world,
And who have attained the concentrations, emancipations, faculties, trances and powers,
On the ground that they do not course in the detachment of the remote forest,—
Of him the Jina has said that 'he is established in Māra's sphere'.

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8. Whether he dwells in the neighbourhood of a village, or in the remote forest:
If he is free from the thought of the twofold vehicle, and fixed on the supreme enlightenment,
Then this is the detachment of those who have set out for the weal of the world.
As one whose self is extinct should that Bodhisattva be considered.

Chapter XXII.

The good friends and the perfections.

1. Therefore then the learned who has slain pride,
Who seeks with weighty resolution for the best enlightenment,
Should, as one attends upon a physician to be cured of a multitude of ailments,
Attend upon the good friend, undaunted.
2. The Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas who have set out for the best enlightenment
And (those who have) these perfections have been enumerated as "the good friends".
It is they who tnstruct them (i.e. the Bodhisattvas) in these progressive stages,
For a double reason they (quickly) understand the Buddha-enlightenment.
3. The past and future Jinas, and those who stand (just now) in all the ten directions,
They all (have) this perfection for their path, and no other.
As a splendid illumination, as a torch, as a light, as the Teacher
Have these perfections been described to those who have set out for the best enlightenment.
4. As he cognizes the perfection of wisdom through the mark of emptiness,
So by the same mark he cognizes all these dharmas;
When he wisely knows dharmas as empty, as without marks,
In coursing thus he courses in the wisdom of the Sugatas.

Defilement and purification.

5. In want of food, indulging in imagination, beings
Always wander about in birth-and-death, their minds attached.
Both I and Mine as dharmas are unreal and empty.
By his own self has the fool become entangled in space.
6. As someone who suspects that he has been poisoned

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May well be struck down, although no poison has got into his stomach;
Just so the fool who has admitted into himself (the notions of) I and Mine
Is forced by that quite unreal notion of an I to undergo birth and death
again and again.

7. Where one takes notice, there is defilement, so it has been revealed;
The non-apprehension of I and Mine has been called purification.
But there is herein no one who is defiled or who is cleansed.
Then the Bodhisattva has understood the perfection of wisdom.

The supreme merit of Perfect Wisdom.

8. If as many beings as there are here in the entire Jambudvīpa
Would all, having aspired for the foremost enlightenment,
And having given gifts for many thousands of kotis of years,
Dedicate it all to the enlightenment linked to the weal of the world;
9. But if someone else, practised in wisdom, the foremost perfection,
Would for even one single day comply with it:
An infinitesimal merit would here that heap of giving bring.
Therefore the undaunted should always plunge into wisdom.

Compassion and Perfect Wisdom.

10. When the Yogin courses in wisdom, the best of perfections,
He engenders the great compassion, but no notion of a being.
Then the wise becomes worthy of the offerings of the whole world,
He never fruitlessly consumes the alms of the realm.
11. The Bodhisattva who wishes to set free the gods and men,
Bound for so long, and the beings in the three places of woe,
And to manifest to the world of beings the broad path to the other shore,
Should be devoted to the perfection of wisdom by day and by night.

The simile of the pearl of great price.

12. A man who had gained at some time a very fine jewel
Which he had not got before, would be contented.
If, as soon as he had gained it, he would lose it again through carelessness,
He would be sorry and constantly hankering after the jewel.
13. Just so the Yogin who has set out for the best enlightenment
Should not get parted from the perfection of wisdom, which is comparable to
a jewel,

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Seizing the jewel which he has gained, with growing energy
He moves forward, and swiftly he comes to the (state of) Bliss.

Chapter XXIII.

The superior position of Bodhisattvas.

1. When the sun rises, free from clouds and one blaze of rays,
Having dispelled the entire blinding and confusing darkness,
It outshines all animals such as glow-worms,
And also all the hosts of the stars, and the lustre of the moon.
2. Just so the wise Bodhisattva, who courses in wisdom, the foremost perfection;
Having destroyed the jungle of views,
The Bodhisattva who courses in emptiness and the signless
Very much surpasses the whole world, as well as the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas.

The simile of the king and the crown-prince.

3. Just as the son of a king, a giver of wealth, desiring the welfare (of others),
Becomes a person of authority among all, much sought after.
For even now he makes (many) beings happy,
How much more so when he will be established as the resourceful (ruler) of the kingdom!
4. Just so the wise Bodhisattva, who courses in wisdom,
A donor of the deathless, dear to gods and men.
Already now he is interested in the happiness of (many) beings,
How much more so when he will be established as king of the Dharma!

Chapter XXIV.

How Māra is discomforted and defeated.

1. But Māra at that time becomes like one feels a thorn in his flesh,
Afflicted with sorrow, miserable, displeased, of little stamina.
(He manifests)[31] a conflagration on the horizon, he hurls a meteor, in order to cause fear,
'How can this Bodhisattva be made to become despondent in his mind!'
2. When the wise become resolutely intent,
Day and night beholding the meaning of wisdom, the foremost Perfection;

31. Added from A: *upadarśayati*.

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Then their bodies, thoughts and speech become (free) like a bird in the sky.
How can the Kinsman of Darkness gain entrance to them?

What makes Māra contented.

3. When a Bodhisattva has taken to quarrels and disputes,
And when the thoughts (of two Bodhisattvas) become mutually conflicting and angry,
Then Māra becomes contented, and supremely elated, (thinking:)
"Both these remain far distant from the cognition of the Jinas.
4. Both these remain far distant (from it), comparable to malignant demons;
Both these will effect for themselves a waning of their pledge.
Those who are full of hate, deficient in patience, how can they have enlightenment?"—
Then Māra becomes contented, together with his host.

The Bodhisattva's pride and repentance.

5. If a Bodhisattva who has not had his prediction
Should have angry thoughts for one who has had it, and should bring about a dispute:
For as many moments as he persists in his obstinate faulty thoughts,
For so many aeons he must again put on the armour.
6. Then he sets up mindfulness, and (he reflects), 'these are unwholesome thoughts;
By means of the perfection of patience do the Buddhas experience enlightenment".
He confesses his fault, and afterwards he restrains himself,
Or he desists, and trains himself in this Buddha-dharma.

Chapter XXV.

How a Bodhisattva is trained.

1. When he trains himself, he does not anywhere approach a training,
Nor does he get at one who trains, or at the dharmas which (constitute) training.
Who trains himself, without discriminating between both,—training and no-training,—
He trains himself in this Buddha-dharma.
2. The Bodhisattva who thus cognizes this training,

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He does not ever become deficient in training, or immoral.
Having found pleasure in them, he trains himself in these Buddha-dharmas.
He trains himself, skilful in (the superior) training, but without apprehending anything,

3. When they train thus in wisdom, to the wise shedders of light
Not even one single thought arises that is unwholesome :
As when the sun goes through the sky, before the impact of its rays
No darkness can maintain itself in the intermediate space.

Perfect Wisdom comprehends all the perfections

4. For those who have effected a training in the perfection of wisdom
All the (other) perfections are comprehended in it.
As in the false view of individuality all the sixty-two false views
Are included, so are these perfections (included in the perfection of wisdom).
5. As when the life-faculty has been stopped
Also all the other faculties that may exist are stopped :
Just so, when the best of the wise course in wisdom,
All these perfections have been said to be therein comprehended.

Bodhisattvas and Disciples.

6. In all the qualities of the Disciples, and likewise of the Pratyekabuddhas,
The wise Bodhisattva becomes trained :
But he does not stand in them, nor does he long for them.
'In that (also) should I be trained', (he thinks). In that sense he trains himself (in them).

Chapter XXVI.

Rejoicing and Perfect Wisdom.

1. If someone resolutely rejoices in the productions of thought
(Of a Bodhisattva who) has set out for the best enlightenment and is irreversible (from it);
One might (measure) the Merus in up to a trichiliocosm by comparing them (with a tip of straw)[32],
But not that merit derived from rejoicing.

[32]. Added form A. Tibetan : "It would be easier to weigh Mount Meru in a balance, than to find the measure of the merit from that act of rejoicing".

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2. They rejoice at the heap of merit of all beings that there are,
Who desire what is wholesome, (and) who want emancipation.
When for the weal of beings they have reached the infinite qualities of a Jina,
They will give the Dharma to the world for the complete extinction of suffering,

3. The Bodhisattva who, not discriminating, comprehends
All dharmas as empty, signless and unimpeded,
Without any dualism he seeks in wisdom for enlightenment.
Devoted to the foremost perfection of wisdom is that Yogin.

The simile of space and the firmament.

4. An obstruction of the space-element by the firmament
Cannot be found anywhere by anyone.
Just so the wise Bodhisattva, coursing in wisdom,
Is just like open space, and he courses calmly quiet.

The simile of the people created by magic.

5. As it does not occur to a man whom a magician has conjured up (when he looks at the audience):
'I will please those people, and nevertheless he performs his work;
They see him exhibiting manifold illusory works,
Although he has no body, thought, or name.

6. Just so it never occurs to one who courses in wisdom:
"Having known enlightenment I will set free the world!"
In his various rebirths he is associated with manifold works,
Which he manifests like magical illusions, but he does not course in false discrimination.

The simile of the Buddha's magical creations.

7. As a Buddha's magical creation performs a Buddha's work,
But, when he does so, no thought of self-conceit arises in him:
Just so the wise Bodhisattva, who courses in wisdom,
Manifests all works, comparable to a fictitious magical illusion.

The simile of the machine.

8. An expert and experienced mason has made a wooden apparatus;
Comparable to a man or a woman it performs here all its works.
Just so the wise Bodhisattva, coursing in wisdom,

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Performs all his work by his cognition, but without discrimination,

Chapter XXVII.

The Bodhisattva worthy of homage.

1. To the wise, who courses thus, many congregations of gods,
Having bent forth their outstretched hands, in respectful salutation, will pay homage.
The Buddhas also, as many as there are in the world-systems in the ten directions,
Effect the proclamation of the garland of the praises of his qualities.

Māra is powerless against certain Bodhisattvas.

2. If as many beings as there are in the fields countless like the sands of the Ganges
Would all, let us assume, become Māras;
And if every single hair on their bodies would again magically create a snare,
They all could not hinder the wise.
3. For four reasons does the powerful and wise Bodhisattva
Become unassailable by the four Māras, (and) unshakable :
He becomes one who dwells in the empty; and yet he is not one who abandons beings;
He acts as he speaks; he is sustained by the Sugatas.

The true attitude to Suchness.

4. The Bodhisattva who resolutely believes when this perfection of wisdom,
The mother of the Tathāgatas, is being taught.
And who practises the progressive path with resolution,
He should be known as having well set out towards all-knowledge.
5. But he does not come to a standing place in the Suchness of the Dharma-element.
He becomes as one who, like a cloud, stands in the sky without anywhere to stand on,
As a sorcerer who, like a bird, rides on the wind which offers him no support,
Or as one who, by the force of his spells, miraculously produces on a tree full-blown flowers out of season.

The Bodhisattva dwells supreme.

6. The wise and learned Bodhisattva who courses thus

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Does not get at one who wakes up to enlightenment, nor also at the Buddha-dharmas,
Nor at one who demonstrates, nor also at one who loves and sees the Dharma.
This is the dwelling of those who desire calm, of those who delight in the precious qualities.

7. As many as there are the dwellings of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas,
Associated with the peace and happiness of calm concentration:
With the exception of the Arhat-liberation of the Tathāgatas
This dwelling is among all the foremost and the unsurpassed.

How and why one should dwell in emptiness.

8. A bird dwells in space, but does not fall down.
A fish dwells amidst water, but does not die.[33]
Just so the Bodhisattva who through the trances and powers has gone beyond,
Dwells in the empty, but does not reach the Blessed Rest.
9. One who wants to go to the summit of the qualities of all beings,
To experience the best, the exceedingly wonderful, Buddha-cognition,
To give the best gift of the highest and supreme Dharma,
He should resort to this best dwelling of those who bring benefit.

Chapter XXVIII.

Who trains in Perfect Wisdom trains in Buddhahood.

1. Of all the trainings which have been revealed by the Leader,
This teaching is the best and unsurpassed.
One who, wise in all trainings, wishes to go Beyond,
He should train in this perfection of wisdom, in the Buddha-training.

Inexhaustibility of Perfect Wisdom.

2. This is the best receptacle, the storehouse of the supreme Dharma,
The treasury of happiness and ease of those people who belong to the clan of the Buddhas.
The past and future world saviours, (and those who are at present) in the ten directions,
They have come forth from this, and yet the Dharma-element does not get exhausted.

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[33]. Tibetan: 'is not drowned'.

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3. As many trees, fruits, flowers and forest trees as there are,
They all have come out of the earth and originate in it.
And yet the earth does not undergo exhaustion, or growth,
It does not get tired, does not dwindle away, making no discrimination.[34]
4. The Buddha's offspring, the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas,
The gods, and the dharmas which lead to the ease and happiness of all the world,—as many as there are,
They all have issued from wisdom, the foremost perfection,
And yet wisdom does not ever get exhausted, nor does it increase.
5. As many beings as there are in the low, middle and high (regions of the) world,
They have all, so has the Sugata said, been brought about by ignorance.
The machinery of ill is kept going by the full complement of the conditions,
And yet the machinery of ignorance does not get exhausted, nor does it grow.
6. As many roots of skilful devices as there are, or doors and methods of cognition,
They all have issued from wisdom, the foremost perfection.
The machinery of cognition is kept going by the full complement of conditions,
And yet the perfection of wisdom does not increase or become diminished.

Conditioned co-production.

7. But the Bodhisattva who understands conditioned co-production as non-production
And this wisdom as non-extinction:
As the rays of the sun freed from the covering of the clouds,
So he has dispelled the covering of ignorance, and become one Self-Existent.

Chapter XXIX.

The Perfection of Concentration.

1. Those of great might who dwell in the four Trances
Do not make them into a place to settle down in, nor into a home.
But these four Trances, with their limbs, will in their turn become

[34]. i.e. all this makes no difference to it.

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The basis for the attainment of the supreme and unsurpassed enlightenment.

2. One who is established in the Trances becomes one who obtains the foremost wisdom;
And also when he experiences the four most excellent Formless Trances,
He makes these Trances subservient to the best and foremost enlightenment.
But it is not for the extinction of the outflows that the Bodhisattva trains himself in these.

3. Astonishing and wonderful is this accumulation of precious qualities.
When they have dwelled in Trance and Concentration, there is then no sign.
When the personality of those who have stood therein breaks up,
They are reborn again in the world of sense-desire, as (and where) they had intended.

4. As some man from Jambudvīpa who had in the past been a god,
Would, after reaching again the highest abodes of the gods,
See the apartments contained in them
And would then again come back, and not make his home therein;

5. Just so those Bodhisattvas, bearers of the best qualities,
Having dwelt in Trance and Concentration, Yogins who have exerted themselves,
Become again established in the sense-world, unstained
As the lotus in water, independent of the dharmas of the fools.

6. Except in order to mature beings, to purify the (Buddha-) field,
To fulfil these perfections, the Great-Souled ones
Do not strive after rebirth in the formless world,
Lest there be a loss of the perfections and of the qualities of enlightenment therein.

7. It is as if some man, having found a deposit of jewels,
Would not generate longing in his intelligence with regard to it.
At some other time he may acquire a few of them;
Having taken hold of them, having entered his home, he would not be covetous (for any more ?).

8. Just so the wise Bodhisattvas who have gained
The calm concentration of the four Trances, which gives joy and ease,
Having let go the acquisition of the joy and ease of Trance and concentration,

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They enter again into the sensuous world, compassionate for all that lives.

9. When a Bodhisattva dwells in the concentration of the Trances,
He generates no longing in his intelligence for the vehicle of the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas:
(For then) he becomes unconcentrated, in his thought distracted and puffed up,
He has lost the qualities of a Buddha, a sailor who suffers shipwreck.

10. Although he applies himself to the five sense-qualities, —
To form and sound, and likewise smell, and taste, and touch,
When free from the vehicle of the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas, the joyous Bodhisattva
Should, a hero, be wisely known as being constantly concentrated.

The Perfection of Vigour.

11. They have pure and courageous minds and are linked to other beings and persons,
(When) they are practising the excellent perfection of Vigour.
As a maid servant is submissive to her master who is not subject to anyone else,
So do the firmly wise submit to subjection by all beings.

12. The servant does not answer back to her master,
Even when abused, struck, or beaten.
Exceedingly trembling in mind, and overcome by fear,
She thinks, 'He surely will kill me for that !'

13. Just so the Bodhisattva who has set out for the foremost enlightenment,
Should behave towards the entire world like a true servant.
Thereupon he obtains enlightenment, and the fulfilment of the qualities takes place.
Fire, which has arisen from grass and sticks, (then) burns them up.

14. Having renounced a happy destiny for himself,
Practising his duty towards other beings, day and night, in his thought free from hesitation :
Like a mother, ministering to (her) only child,
He abides in his resolute intention unexhausted.

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Chapter XXX.

1. The Bodhisattva who intends to wander about in birth-and-death for (a) long (time),
   A Yogin devoted to the purification of the (Buddha-) field for the welfare of beings,
   And who does not produce the least thought of fatigue,
   He is endowed with the perfection of vigour, and undaunted.
2. If the unwise Bodhisattva counts the koṭis of aeons,
   And has the notion that it is long until the full attainment of enlightenment, he is bound to suffer,
   And for a long time he will be suffering while moving unto Dharma.
   Therefore he is inferior in the perfection of vigour, and essentially indolent.
3. Beginning with the production of the first thought of the foremost enlightenment,
   Until in the end he reaches the unsurpassed Bliss,
   If night and day he would persevere single-mindedly,
   The wise and learned should be known as one who has put forth vigour.
4. If someone would say, 'on condition that you have shattered Mount Sumeru,
   You will be one who will attain to the foremost enlightenment',
   And if he (then) effects a thought of fatigue or limitation (to his efforts),
   Then that Bodhisattva is affected by indolence.
5. But when there arises to him the mindful thought, 'That is nothing difficult.
   In a mere moment Sumeru (will) break up into dust',
   Then the wise Bodhisattva becomes one who puts forth vigour.
   Before long he will attain the foremost enlightenment of the Leaders.
6. If he would exert himself with body, thought and speech, (thinking)
   'Having matured (it) I will work the weal of the world',
   Then, established in the notion of a self, he is affected by indolence.
   He is as far distant from the meditational development of not-self as the sky is from the ground.
7. When one has no notion of either body, or thought, or a being,
   Standing rid of perception, coursing in the non-dual Dharma, –
   That has been called by Him who bestows benefits the perfection of vigour
   Of those who desire the blissful, imperishable, foremost enlightenment.

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The Perfection of Patience.

8. When he hears someone else speaking to him harshly and offensively
The wise Bodhisattva remains quite at ease and contented.
(He thinks:) 'Who speaks ? Who hears ? How, to whom, by whom ?'
The discerning is (then) devoted to the foremost perfection of patience.

9. If a Bodhisattva, devoted to the precious Dharma, remains patient,—
And if someone else would give the trichiliocosm filled with precious things
To the Buddhas, Knowers of the world, and to the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas,—
Infinitesimal only will be (by comparison) the merit from that heap of gifts.

10. The personality of one who is established in patience is completely purified,
Exalted by the thirty-two marks, (it becomes) boundless.
He preaches the best empty Dharma to beings.
Dear to the entire world do the patient and discerning become.

11. If someone had taken a basket containing sandalwood powder,
And, with respect and affection, strewed it over the Bodhisattva;
And if a second one were to throw live coals over his head, —
He should produce a mind equal to both of them.

12. Having thus been patient, the wise and learned Bodhisattva
Dedicates that production of thought to the foremost enlightenment.
The hero who remains patient in all the worlds, surpasses
Whatever Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas there may be in the world of beings.

13. Again, one who is patient should produce a thought (thus):
'In the hells, in the world of animals and in the Yama world there are many ills.
With the sense-pleasures as cause one must experience much that causes displeasure.
Better, for the sake of enlightenment, to be patient today !'

14. 'Whip, stick, sword, murder, imprisonment, and blows,
Decapitation, and amputation of ears, hands and feet, and of nose,
As many ills as there are in the world, (all) that I (will) endure',
(When he thinks thus, then) the Bodhisattva stands in the perfection of patience.

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Chapter XXXI.

The Perfection of Morality.

1. By Morality those who hanker after calm are lifted up,
Established in the sphere of those with the ten powers, unbroken in their morality.

How ever many actions of restraint they comply with,
They dedicate them to enlightenment for the benefit of all beings.

2. If he generates a longing for the enlightenment of Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas,

He becomes immoral, unwise, and likewise faulty in his coursing.
But when one turns over (all one's merit) into the utmost Bliss of enlightenment,

Then one is established in the perfection of morality, (although) joined to the sense-qualities.

3. The Dharma from which come the qualities of the enlightenment of the Gentle,

That is the object of the morality of those who are endowed with the qualities of Dharma.

The Dharma which (involves) the loss of the qualities of the enlightment of those who act for the weal of the world,

As immorality has that been proclaimed by the Leader.

4. When a Bodhisattva tastes of the five sense-qualities,
But has gone for refuge to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the holy Saṃgha
And has turned his attention towards all-knowledge, (thinking) 'I will become a Buddha',—

As established in the perfection of morality should that discerning one be known.

5. If, when coursing for koṭis of aeons in the ten paths of wholesome action,
He engenders a longing for Arhatship or Pratyekabuddhahood,
Then he becomes one whose morality is broken, and faulty in his morality.
Weightier than an offence deserving expulsion is such a production of thought.

6. When he guards morality, he turns (the resulting merit) over to the foremost

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enlightenment,
But he does not feel conceited about that, nor does he exalt himself.
When he has got rid of the notion of I and the notion of other beings,
Established in the perfection of morality is that Bodhisattva called.

7. If a Bodhisattva, coursing in the path of the Jinas,
Makes (a difference between) these beings as observers of morality and those as of bad morality,
Intent on the perception of multiplicity he is perfectly immoral.
He is faulty in his morality, not perfectly pure in it.

8. He who has no notion of I and no notion of a being,
He has performed the withdrawal from perception, (and) he has no (need for) restraint.
One who minds neither about restraint nor about non-restraint,
He has been proclaimed by the Leader as restrained by morality.

The Perfection of Giving.

9. But one who, endowed with morality, a pure being,
Becomes unconcerned about anything that may be dear or undear,—
If, when he renounces head, hands and feet his thought remains undejected,
He becomes one who gives up all he has, always uncowed.

10. And having known the essential original nature of dharmas as void and without self,
He would renounce his own flesh, undejected in thought,
To say nothing of his renouncing of property and gold.
It is impossible that he should act from meanness.

11. Through the notion of I comes about a sense of ownership about property, as well as greed;
How can the deluded have the resolve to renunciation?
The mean are reborn in the world of the Pretas,
Or if as humans then they are poor.

12. Then the Bodhisattva, having understood why these beings are poverty-stricken,
Becomes resolved on giving, always a generous giver.
When he has given away the four Continents, well adorned, as if they were

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just spittle,

He becomes elated, for he has not kept the Continents.

13. Having given gifts, the wise and learned Bodhisattva,
Having brought to mind all the beings that there are in the triple world,
Becomes to all of them a donor, and he turns over
That gift into the most excellent enlightenment, for the weal of the world.

14. When he has given a gift, he does not make it into a basis or support.
And he does never expect any reward from it.
Having thus renounced, he becomes a wise renouncer of all.
The little he has renounced becomes much and immeasurable.

15. If all the beings in the entire triple world, as many as there are
Would, let us assume, give gifts for endless aeons,
To the Buddhas, Knowers of the world, to Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas,
But would wish for the virtues of the Disciples; —

16. And if a Bodhisattva, wise and skilled in means,
Would rejoice at the foundation of their meritorious deed,
And would, for the weal of beings, turn it over into the best and most excellent enlightenment,—

By having turned over he surpasses the (merit of the) entire world.

17. If there were a large heap of spurious glass jewels,
One single gem of lapis lazuli surpasses it all:
Just so the Bodhisattva, who rejoices, surpasses
The (merit from the) whole vast heap of gifts of the entire world.

18. If the Bodhisattva, giving when gifts to the world
Remains unaffected by a sense of ownership by an affection for his property,
From that his wholesome root grows into something of great might:
As the moon, in the absence of cloud, is a circle of radiant light in the bright half of the lunar month.

Chapter XXXII.

Rewards of the six Perfections.

1. Through Giving a Bodhisattva cuts off rebirth as a Preta.
He also cuts off poverty, and likewise all the defilements.

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When he courses in it (i.e. giving) he gains infinite and abundant wealth.
Through (his) giving he matures beings in trouble.

2. Through Morality he avoids rebirth as one of the many animals,
And also the eight untoward moments; he constantly gains rebirth at an auspicious moment.
Through Patience he gains a perfect and exalted body,
With golden skin, dear to the world to look at.

3. Through Vigour he does not incur the loss of the bright qualities.
He gains the storehouse of the infinite cognition of the Jinas.
Through Trance he casts off the sense-qualities in disgust,
He acquires the "lore", the superknowledges and concentrations.

4. Having, through Wisdom, comprehended the essential original nature of dharmas,
He completely transcends the triple world and the states of woe.
Having turned the precious wheel of the Mightiest of Men,
He demonstrates Dharma to the world for the complete extinction of ill.

5. When the Bodhisattva has fulfilled these dharmas,
He then still receives the purity of the field and the purity of (the) beings (in it).
He also receives the lineage of the Buddha, the lineage of the Dharma,
And likewise the lineage of the Saṃgha. He receives all dharmas.

Conclusion.

6. The supreme physician who accords medical treatment to the sickness of the world,
Has taught this exposition of wisdom which is the path to enlightenment.
It is called "The Path to enlightenment which is the 'Accumulation of Precious Qualities' ",
And it has been taught so that all beings might reach that Path.

CONTENTS.

Chapter I. 126

1. Preliminary admonition.
2-4. The source of Subhūti's authority. = A 4
5-15. The basic teachings. = A 5-18

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16-21. Three key terms defined. = A 18-24
22-28. The transcendental nature of Bodhisattvas. A 24-31

Chapter II. 131

1-3. Where Bodhisattvas stand. = A 35-37
4-8. Wherein Bodhisattvas train. = A 38-43
9-12. The facts of existence. = A 44-47
13. Conclusion. = A 48

Chapter III. 133

1-4. The merit derived from Perfect Wisdom. = A 49-70
5-6. Perfect wisdom a Great Lore. = A 73-74
7-8. Perfect Wisdom and the other five perfections. = A 81-82

Chapter IV. 134

1-2. Relative value of relics and Perfect wisdom. = A 94-99
3-4. Simile of the wishing jewel. = A 96-99
5. Perfect wisdom and the other five perfections. =A 100-1
6-7. Simile of the shadows. = A 101

Chapter V. 135

1-2. The counterfeit and the true perfection of wisdom. A 112-3
3-4. Perfect wisdom greater than any other spiritual gift. A 122-3
5-8. Importance of the thought of enlightenment. A—
9. The sun and the fire-fly. A—

Chapter VI. 136

1. Supreme merit of Dedication and Jubilation. A 135
2-4. The range of Jubilation. A 135-138
5-9. True and false Turning-over. A 142-158

Chapter VII. 138

1-2. Perfect Wisdom guides the other perfections. A 172
3-4. The attitude to dharmas and the self. A 172-175
5-7. Faith in the perfection of wisdom. A 176-179

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Chapter VIII. 139

1-4. The meaning of purity. A 186-195

Chapter IX. 139

1-2. All-round purity. A 200-201

Chapter X. 140

1-2. Qualifications for perfect wisdom. A 211-213
3-4. The simile of a village. A 215-216
5-6. The simile of the ocean. A 216-217
7. The simile of spring. A 217
8. The simile of the pregnant woman. A 218
9-10. How to dwell in Perfect Wisdom. A 219-220

Chapter XI. 141

1. The theme. A 232
2-3. Various obstacles. A 232-233
4-5. The Bodhisattva-path and the Disciple-path. A 234-239
6-7. More obstacles. A 242-243
8-10. Māra's deeds and the Buddha's help. A 248-252

Chapter XII. 143

1-2. Perfect Wisdom the mother of the Buddhas. A 253-257
3-5. How the Tathāgata knows the world. A 270-274
6-7. Similes about the Buddha. A —
8-9. The Tathāgata's vision of Dharma. A—

Chapter XIII. 144

1-2. Simile of the king and his ministers. A 281

Chapter XIV. 144

1. The Bodhisattva and Enlightenment. (A 284-286?)
2-4. The simile of the ship. A 286-287
5-6. The simile of the jar. A 287-288
7-8. The simile of the two ships. A 288-290
9-10. The simile of the aged man. A 290-291

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Chapter XV. 146

1-2. The beginner and the good friends. A 292-293
3-6. How a Bodhisattva helps beings. A 293-301
7-8. Perfect Wisdom and its conflict with the world. A 304-5

Chapter XVI. 147

1-2. On Suchness. A 306-308
3-5. Wisdom and Skill in Means. A 309-311
6. The desirable attitude to other beings. A 321-322

Chapter XVII. 148

1. The theme. A 323
2-7. Qualities of irreversible Bodhisattvas. A 323-338

Chapter XVIII. 149

1-2. Deep Stations. A 342-343
3. The simile of the woman. A 343-344
4-6. Considerations of merit. A 344-346
7-8. No growth or diminution. A 347-351

Chapter XIX. 150

1-2. Conditioned co-production and the simile of the lamp. A 352-3
3-4. The simile of the seed and the fruit. A —
5. The simile of the water drops. A —
6-7. The meaning of emptiness. A 356-361
8. The attitude to places which might inspire fear. A 361-364

Chapter XX. 152

1. The three Doors to Deliverance and the Buddhadharmas. A 370-1
2-4. The simile of the hero. A 371-374
5-7. The simile of the cosmos. A —
8. The simile of the flying bird. A 374
9-10. The simile of the archer. A 374-375
11-12. The simile of the twin miracle. A —
13-14. The simile of the parachutes. A —
15-16. The simile of the merchant and the jewel-island. A —

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17-18. The simile of the merchant and his journey. A —
19-20. The Bodhisattva undefinable. A —
21. The Doors to Deliverance and the irreversible stage. A 379
22-24. Tokens of irreversibility. A 380-384

Chapter XXI. 155

1-3. Pride and other deeds of Māra. A 385-391
4-8. Faults in connection with detachment. A 391-395

Chapter XXII. 157

1-4. The good friends and the perfections. A 396-399
5-7. Defilement and purification- A 400
8-9. The supreme merit of Perfect Wisdom. A 401-402
10-11. Compassion and perfect Wisdom. A 402-404
12-13. The simile of the pearl of great price. A 404-405

Chapter XXIII. 159

1-2. The superior position of Bodhisattvas. A 413
3-4. The simile of the king and the crown prince. A —

Chapter XXIV. 159

1-2. How Māra is discomforted and defeated. A 416-417
3-4. What makes Māra contented. A 420
5-6. The Bodhisattva's pride and repentance. A 420

Chapter XXV. 160

1-3. How a Bodhisattva is trained. A 424-430
4-5. Perfect Wisdom comprehends all the perfections. A 430-431
6. Bodhisattvas and Disciples. A 432-433

Chapter XXVI. 161

1-3. Rejoicing and Perfect Wisdom. A 435-436
4. The simile of space and the firmament. A 441
5-6. The simile of the people created by magic. A 441-442
7. The simile of the Buddha's magical creations. A 442-443
8. The simile of the machine. A 443

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Chapter XXVII. 163

1. The Bodhisattva worthy of homage. A 446-447
2-3. Māra is powerless against certain Bodhisattvas. A 447-449
4-5. The true attitude to Suchness. A 452-454
6-7. The Bodhisattva dwells supreme. A 454-456
8-9. How and why one should dwell in emptiness. A 456

Chapter XXVIII. 164

1. Who trains in Perfect Wisdom trains in Buddhahood. A 466
2-6. Inexhaustibility of Perfect Wisdom. A 464-471
7. Conditioned Co-production. A 468-470

Chapter XXIX. 165

1-10. The Perfection of Concentration. A—
11-14. The Perfection of Vigour. A —

Chapter XXX. 168

1-7. The Perfection of Vigour, continued. A—
8-14. The Perfection of Patience. A—

Chapter XXXI. 170

1-8. The Perfection of Morality. A—
9-18. The Perfection of Giving. A—

Chapter XXXII. 172

1-5. Rewards of the six Perfections. A—
6. Conclusion. A—

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THE IMPORTANCE OF HITTITE ART IN INDIAN CIVILISATION

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The visual art of the Indo-Aryan civilisation of Vedic affiliation in proto-historic times centuries before the age of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* is yet to be tangibly discovered and be claimed reasonably, though the scope of study of Indus Valley seals and statuettes in this direction is not small. Actually it would please archaeologists and historians to find materials relevant to this subject and assignable to the middle of the second millenium B. C. when the land-mark of Indo-Aryan civilization, the famous Boghaz-koi inscription containing the names of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and the twin Nāsatyas is dated. The gods who had been invoked to guard a treaty between the Hittites and Mitannis of Asia-Minor were evidently worshipped in Anatolia by men who had faith in Vedic religion and pantheon and this inscription from Cappadocia along with other cuneiform inscriptions and tablets from Palestine and Tell el-Amarna will point to a new horizon which so often drew attention of scholars of both East and West. Apart from studying the general similitudes between the ancient art of the Middle East and India separated by centuries, it may be fruitful if we look to the art of the Hittites and the Mitannis for discovering visual representations of deities of Vedic and Puranic origin like the names of Indo-Aryan deities to be found in the Boghaz-koi inscription besides other enigmatic occurrences of Indo-Aryan names in other documents of Western Asia and Egypt. Apart from the names like Tusratta and Maruttash in the letters from Tell el-Amarna the names of Birashshena occurs in a cuneiform tablet of circa 1400 B. C. from Shechem in Palestine while there are various other similar instances.

W. F. Albright has shown by depending on P. E. Dumont that the cuneiform tablets from Palestine bear many personal names formed from well-known Sanskrit words dating to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C. and these include such names like Indaruta, Araunah and Ariwana or Arawana; besides they provide evidence that Indic deities as Indra, Yamin and Sūrya were once briefly worshipped in Palestine in the context of a great Indo-Aryan migration connected with

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the Mitannis which according to the scholar was to the South[1].

It is not disappointing to search for Indo-Aryan divinities in the monuments of Boghaz-koi, Yazili-kaya and Imam Kulu besides the art of the Mitannis or Hurrians that we may study from photographs. Apart from the common worship of the sacred bull on the orthostats of Boghaz-koi, there are Indo-Aryan traits in the art of the rock sanctuary of Yazili-kaya which are revealed by the carving of such figures like the *dvārapāla*, the heavenly guardian of the doors, the *Āyudha-puruṣa* with a mysterious divine head on the pommel of a symbolic sword rising out of crouching lions, as also the incident of the meeting of the father-god with the mother-goddess on mountain peaks accompanied by their family and *vāhanas* or vehicles almost in the mode of Śiva's union with Durgā[2]. A relief of Imam Kulu on the other hand published by Henri Frankfort illustrates a four-armed god and a divine warrior driving his chariot drawn by fiery steeds on three bowing figures recalling the mood of warring Indra or Śiva Tripurāntaka while the Mitannian artists liked to depict the symbolic pillars or *stambhas* and their sacred tree, what we may term as the *Vṛkṣacaitya*[3]. The vast scope of study in the field of Hittite and Mitannian art as also the contemporary sculptures of peripheral Asia Minor may have surpassing importance in the research of Vedic and Puranic religion, mythology and *mantras*.

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[1] *The Archaeology of Palestine* (a Pelican book), pp. 182-83.

[2] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, p. 43, fig. 1.

[3] Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Great Britain, 1958, pp. 117 ff.

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WORDS FOR NOSE, SMELL, ETC.

Prof. Dr. Johannes Rahder, Yale University, U.S.A.

The present article is a sequel to my preceding etymological studies which appeared in Monumenta Nipponica Monograph No. 16 (First Part of my Etymological Vocabulary of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Ainu, Sophia University, Tokyo 1956), Journal of Asiatic Studies II No. 2 p. 307-371 (Second Part of my Etym. Vocabulary, published by the Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, Seoul, January 1960), Journal of Asiatic Studies II No. 1 p. 317-406 (Third Part of my Etym. Vocabulary, published in Seoul July 1959), Orbis vol. 10 No. 1 p. 175-213 (Fourth Part of my Etym. Vocabulary, published by Centre International de Dialectologie, Louvain, July 1961), and were published previously in four instalments under the title "Comparative Treatment of the Japanese Language" in the journal Monumenta Nipponica (hereafter abbreviated *MN*) vol. 7(1951).198-208, vol. 8(1952).239-288, vol. 9(1953).199-257, vol. 10(1954).127-168, and earlier under other titles in MN vol. 3(1940).177-181, 525-548, vol. 4(1941). 634-644.

Lists of my abbreviations of Author and Language Names, Titles of Books, Papers and Periodicals (SIGNA) have been printed in my MN 8, 9, 10 articles, and in the four parts of my Etym. Vocabulary. The principles, assumptions and hypotheses concerning "cross-genetic comparison" (the late A. L. Kroeber in IJAL 26(1960).171-7) and the relations between all languages of the world (the number of which is much larger than the usually assumed 3000; see the 4000 language names listed by Richard Salzner in his "Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes" (1960), and C. Loukotka's Lingua Posnaniensis (vol. 6 p. 19-83) article "Classification des langues papoues", where he refers to about one thousand Papuan languages and dialects) have been ably expounded by Morris Swadesh in his article "Interhemisphere linguistic connections" (Culture in history, Essays in honor of Paul Radin (New York 1960), p. 894-924), and in his brochure "Tras la huella linguistica de la prehistoria", Univ. Nacional de Mexico 1960. The late Alfredo Trombetti (1866-1929) discussed these assumptions, methods and comparative approaches in his "Comparazioni Lessicali" (Bologna 1915-20), "Elementi di

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Glottologia" (1923) and other works, listed in his memorial volume "Scritti in onore di Alfredo Trombetti" (Milano 1938), containing much needed indexes to his "Elementi" and "Comparazioni Lessicali".

NIH 3105, F 24.7, CM 249, DK 2.813 o. J. *kor*-i "incense", MAN 3828, KONO 5.58 J. *kor*-i related to J. ka-w-or-i "smell, odor, fragrance", J. ka-g- "to smell, scent", possibly borrowed from GSR 717 xyang "fragrance" (see my Vocab. MN 9.241, MNM § 168 o. J. kang-i "smell") : PSS 2.395, KOE 45, CH 31, CK 5, PCH 24, HMCH 1.26, OH 1.85 m. KOREAN *ko*, KE 134, UA 92 modern K. *kho* "nose", UA 121, DC 195 K. kot "cape, promontory" : KE 127 (K. koci), EVENKI 215 koco "id., land-tongue between river bends", TR 203 EVEN *kos*-âli, *kûs*-un "id." : ZDMG 110.112, WMS 592 MA. koco "corner" (: KE. q'ucu "corner") : GGOL 45 *xor*-ä, *xon*-ä, AMUR-T. *xor*-eng, OLCHA 257 xura "bridge of the nose", GOLDI xor-a "snout, muzzle, face", GGOL 27 *kec*-ongu "point of rock, cliff" : CBM 599 xuśû (n), CBUR 118 *kuś*-ung, *xoś*-un "protruding part; Vorgebirge, Vogelschnabel, Vordersteven", KO 905 MONGOL qosi-gu(n) "id." : WT 73 m. MONGOL *xuśi* 'uraxu "an der *Spitze* ausziehen" : KO 905, WMS 396 MA. gûsa "banner (borne in front of troops)" : LUV 545 XALXA *xoś*-û(n) "nose, snout, promontory, point" : : RW 2.508-510, 520 TUR. kok, MTW 160 m. TURKISH qoq "smell", koku "odor" : XAKAS 2.316 SAGAI *xaxa*-cax "beak, bill" : : EKA 255 VARKUN kuk, KUBACI kak, XIUR. quoänq, TABASARAN 240 *xyux*, DARG 725 q?yanq?, AGUL xuagu, R. xex; CAXUR xov, INGILO cxür "nose" : : DRAV 1690 MAL., KANNADA, TULU kokku "beak, bill" : DRAV 1045 KOLAMI kam(p) "smell" (: JAV 163 JAVAN. kamb- "smell", SUND. ngamb- "smell" : LR 66 CUKOT *kam*-ak "stench" : § 168, TH 201 J. D. *kam*-aru "to smell", MNG 1514 *kab*-a "odor", HJ. kaubasi-, modern J. kambasi- "fragrant"), HINDI gamak "fragrance", TELUGU, KANNADA guma "id." (: TAI hom : BISAYAN ka (prefix) *-hom*-ot, *-ham*-ut "id." : FN 311 NUNG hom, höng "odor"), DRAV 1407 TAMIL kunnunku "smell of cattle, butter, etc." : : LS 1.2.34 NAMSANGIA NAGA kho, CHANG NAGA kung, LALUNG, KACAR 123 gung, DIMASA, BODO-KOCH gông, TAUNGYO könö "nose" : OMACHAWN-PALAUNG *kông*-mûh, WA *kâng*-much, DARANG *kong*-mu, UN 341 KHASI *kh*-mut "nose" (Synonym Compounds whose second members correspond to KHAR p.175-6, BEFEO 12.102 p. AUSTRO-ASIATIC muh, muG, JUANG *mot*-ai "nose", SKT. mukha "mouth" : DRAV 4122 KOTA, TODA muk, KORAVA mûka, TELUGU mukku "nose, beak, end, point, tip", 4000 TAMIL muka "to smell"; TODA mut- "id.", 4129 KOLAMI mut-i "mouth, beak", KANNADA mûti, môti "face, mouth, snout", MAL. mucci, motti "face" (see the

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MUT, MOT, MAT series listed below) : SBM 595 SAKAI muka, WME 150 MALAY muka "face, front" : LES 424, EKA 255 UDI box-*mogh*, ARCI muc "nose" : CUR 4.20-21 AUSTRALIAN MOOLMEIN kar-muk (S. C.), KENT D. mulg, BULU mink-e, STA 497 TASMANian mög-e "nose" : IJAL 19.219, ZA 655 JICAQUE mik "nose" : HEN 160 COSTANOAN u-*muh*, *mak*-us "nostril" (S.C.; (h)*us* "nose") : CM 255 o. J. muk- "turn the face towards", muk-a "front, opposite", M 3 Old RYUKYU muk-i, MNG 774 KOBAMA mut-i "face, countenance" : CUR 4.21 BOYNE R. mut-u, AUL. mutla, mudla, mul-i, mur-u "nose" (GATTI 3.12, 19 assumes an alternation of /k/, /g/ and /p/, /b/, e.g. AUL. kuda, kutha—buta-n "nose", and an alternation of /k/ and /m/, e.g. AUL. kinta—minta, kutha—mutha "nose", also an alternation of /m-/ and /w-/, e.g. mutha—wutha, moro—woro, muru—wuru "nose", in all AUSTRALIAN languages) : Synonym Compound WAR-KHASI *mür*-kong "nose"): MRU na-*kong*, Wr. BURMESE nha-*k'ông*, KAREN-ZAYEIN na-kång, BIHAR 36.3/4.194 TENGSA-NAGA na-*ko*, MOSO, LAHU na-kå, MENGHUA LOLO na-k'å, PYEN na-*kang*, PHÖN na-kång, ACH'ANG nyi-hång, Sp. TIBETAN na-*khung*, SARPA na-*khuk*, BIHAR 39.239 ATONG, KONCH, RUGA, BANPARA na-*kung*, MARAM nâ-*kâng*, MISMI hńâ-*gom*, COOCH BEHAR nu-*kum*, RENGMA hni-kå, YUN 1 MUNIA nyi-*ga*, PHRUMI hnan-*kai* "nose" (Synonym Compounds whose first members correspond to LES 309-313, 326-7, BIHAR 36 l.c. 209 GURUNG, MURMI, MAGARI na, MARU nâ, TIBETAN s-*na*, KUKISH, Sp. BURMESE h-*na*, LAI 514 når "nose", LSL 2.170 hnår "nose, headwaters", 167 hna "source" : TF 372 FINNish nenä, KLW 242 LIV. nana, ESTONian nina "nose" : KOW 642-3 OSTYAK ńat, ńad, ńal, ńol "nose" : EKA 255 KABARDIN na, LEZGI 427 ner "nose", RKC 322 KABARDIN *na*-pe "face" (Synonym Compound whose 2nd member *pe* "nose" : ADYGE 460 pe "nose" : MSFO 49.173 OS.SAMOYED ped-en-, KOIBAL pi(y) ä, KARAGAS hïide "nose" : GSR 521-c b'yed/pi "nose") : DMM 671 MAYA nih, CHOL ni "nose") : : BEFEO 8.555 MUNG ka-*köu* "nose" : BEFEO 24.489 P'UNOI la-*kang* "nose" : 24.432 AKHA na-*kho* "forehead" : LH 29 BUPA ho, MEFU ka, DAKI kat, LAKIA, K'LAI khat, SEAO khut, WHITE-SAND LOI khak (: KHAR 255.315 BOLUANG-LAWA ngâk "smell"), DAYF 38 DAY khet "nose" : ONC 142 PE-SIFAN nan-*ko*, LANSU-SIFAN nio-*ku*, CHENNING niu-*ku* (Synonym Compounds whose first members *nan-*, *nio-*, *niu-* correspond to TP 17.99, TANGUT 1.445 SI-HIA ni "nose" : ONC 209 NOSO-LOLO ńi "to smell" : DARJEELING-SUNWAR ne(h), NEPAL-PAHRI *ńi*-se, AKA *ni*-śi, *nü*-śü, ANGAMI-NAGA 76 *'ńi*-ca "nose", *'ńi*-ki "nostril", GESITS'A s-*ni*, s-*na*, JYARUNG -ś-*no*-s "nose" : HIMALAYA-BAHING neu "nose"

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: LES 311-2, AW 755 IE. nas- "nose", 768 IE. neu-s-, DUTCH neus, ENG. nuzzle, nose, R. nyuxat' "smell" : FV 39, EMO 137 MORDVIN ner "beak", ZR 657 nïr "beak, nose", TAVGI SAMOYED ńar-a "foremost", KAMASSIAN ńer "point" : MARU neru "to smell" : PONAPE 2.35 net "id." : : CZ 289 ZAPOTEC nay(y)-, naiyxe, nâxe, naiyzo, *nih*-pi "smell" : MAYA ni (h) "nose" : : LES 309, PA 32-33 MANO, DAN, NURUMA, GIO niu, nyu, DMD 2.557-8 MONA, GBIN, DAGARI n(y)i, BOKO, ALADIAN (i) nyi (n), GURO nye, BANZIRI nyo (n), BUTE nyor, SARAKOLLE nu, KREDJ u-ngu, ABE ngo, BONDJO ngo (n); SOSO 2.88 *nio*-e, SENUFO na (n) "nose") , MIAO no-*kom*-bö, LAO-MIAO *hom*-bu "nose", JAV 163 *kam*-bu, SUNDAnese *ngam*-bö "smell" (Synonym Compounds whose anterior members -*kom*-, hom-, *kam*-, *ngam*- correspond to LAO 185 hom "odor", khong hom (S.C.) "perfume", LS 3.1.625 DIGARU-MISMI hnyâ-*gom*, hâ-nâ-*gam* (S.C.) "nose", SBM 717 BESISI ka-*hon* "smell", FN 311 NUNG hom, höng "odor", KHAMTI 184 ham "good smell", ONC 192 PULAO huom "to smell"; ANT 16-17. 795-6, BBD 57 BUSHMAN ham "id."; MON 218 NEW GUINEA MONUMBO *kumu*-mam, NASIOI *kam*ioi "smell", and whose last members -*bö* and -*bu* correspond to LES 387, 313, BAHNAR 2.37 bâu, bou, bû "smell" : ANT 16-17.787, TL 3493 TAMIL vam*bu* "fragrance" : HUA MIAO am*puh* "nose" : JN 38 Old JAVA. am*bö*, JAV. 7 am-*bu*, am-*bet* "odor") : GSR 1088-c xyôg/xyeu/hiu "to smell" (: m. TURK. qoq "smell"), KAN-ON kyu, ku, GO-ON kyû, SINO-KOREAN hu, xu : SGL 795 MEO ngiü, SMT 110 MIAO njü "nose" : GAF 542 VIETNAM. ngüi "to smell"; EK 55 KANAO po-*güi* "nose" : KHAR 255.315, SBM 717 SAKAI ngûy, i-ngôy, SEMANG ning-*hoi* "smell" : CED 486, AU 527 CANTON pi-*ko* "nose" (Synonym Compound whose first member *pi*- is a reflex of GSR 521-c B'YED "nose", corresponding to TANGUT 1.210 phi "nose" : TSL 404 MIRIAM, MABUIAG pit (i) "nose"; GATTI 1.13, CUR 3.114 AUSTRALIAN pir-i "nose" : PA 32 KANYOP bies, BOLA, SARAR bîz, PEPEL bîhl "nose", and the second syllables in the following series of Synonym Compounds LISU 92 na-*bê*, LS 1.2.34 na-*bö*, AHI-LOLO no-*bo*, ONC 142 LOLO nö-*bö*, nu-*phu*; LOLOPHO no-*bi*, NYILOLO na-*bi*, na-piè, KOPU-LOLO ńi-*bi*, MOSO ńi-*ma*; LES 313, CI 239 S. MISMI -na-*bo*, LIMBU ne-*bo*; LES 310, CI 238-9 DAFLA nyo-*pom*, nye-*pum*, YACHUMI, AKA nu-*b*(i)*ong*, ABOR ngya-*bung* "nose"; TOTO nâ-*ba*, DHIMAL nhâ-*pu*, YAKHA nâ-*phuk*, KHAMBU nâ-*p* "nose" : : CC 238 COPTIC ni-*fe*, ni-*fi*, ni-*be*, ni-*bi* "blow, breathe" : : LES 387, JR 52 ROTTI na-*bo*, TIMOR na-*vô* "to smell", MEF 253, HD 130 EFATE na-*bo* "smell", WC 276, CFD 14 FIJI i-*bo* (i); VG 5.254, IA 102 ANEITYUM (naua)-ni-*piu* "odor" (H. Kern reconstructed

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p. ANEITYUM ni-pun, and listed as cognates PONOSAKAN umbau, JAV 7 ambu, MALAY bau, TOMBULU, BENTENAN wou, SIKKA waung, TAGALOG bahu "smell", JAV 7 ambung "kiss", CFD 16 FIJI *bon*-a "stink") : MNM 13, CM 258 p. J. ni-*bo*-b-, PJ 612 m.J. ni-*wo*- "smell") : RH 731, SH 156, HAKKA 350 phi-*kung*, LIUK 101 p'i-k'ung "nose" : : KJ 18 CHAMORRO güieng "nose", CMR 1.145 ngungo "näseln", nginge "smell", ngof- "blow the nose" : TTT 3 ATAYAL ngoho, RUKAI ngongoa?, SAAROA ngûnguru; HTW 271, TOBELO 45 ngunungu "nose" : KJ 18, 149, TN 42 LOINDANG ngu-s, BURU 75 nge "nose", TONTEMBOAN enges "breathe", AB 149 engo, KULA 3.57 onge "nose" (: GATTI 3.62, CUR 3.8 TATEBURRA ungye, FUYUGE unge "nose"), nangka-*hongo* "näseln", NIAS 107 ingo, WME 426 MALAY ingu-s "nose mucus", BH 1013 inge, LAJOLO ango "nose", VG 5.65, SANGIR 445 sungi "obstructed nose", 97 dengu "sniff", VG 5.41 TAGALOG s*ingau* "odor", BENTENAN se*ho* "smell" : IBANAG, TOBA 102 igung "nose", reflex of DA 67 !ig'ung, 'ug'ung "nose" : MALAY !idung : VBG 74. 3.36 MABA guo, BULI gu-guo; TSL 179, 144 MIRIAM gogo "nose" : HD 128-9, MEF 195 EFATE ko "front part, face", 176 gor-e "nose" : ANT 20.52 AUSTRALIAN (w)or-o : CHON (h)or, ONA-SELKNAM 90 or, ol "nose" : Tierra del Fuego YAMANA 174 *kös*-ur "nose, snout, beak, trunk (of tapirs); point" : ML 48 ESP. SANTO gogo, AMBRYM guhu, SAVO gnoko "nose" : KAETI 163 KATI kiring-*gondo*, kining-*kono* (redupl. Synonym Compound) "nose", mutu-*kondo* "face" (Synonym Compound whose first member *mutu*- corresponds to LES 165-6, CUR 4.21 BOYNE mutu, 20 mu (d) tha, mutla, m*u*dla "nose", TSL 488 SUAU, TAVARA mata, OIUN u-mata "face", SBM 594 SEMANG, SENOI mat "face", SAKAI mot "eye", LS 4.13, 17, KHAR 126.250 MON mot "eye", 175.387 JUANG *mot*-ai, KHASI kh-*mut* "nose" : DRAV 4129 KANNADA mûti, môti "face, mouth, snout", TODA mun, mut "face, front", GONDI massôr, mosor "nose" : LES 418-9, TSL 399 MIRIA M mat, SOGERI e-*mo* "forehead" : TTT 2 PAIWAN *modi*-, *mudi*-ngan, MANTAURAN matsa?o "face" : M 5, MNG 774 RYUKYU, YAEYAMA (u) muti "face", NIH 1770, AN 1.216 Old JAPANESE moto "face", HOR 388, PRO 342, NIH 101, AN 1.13, IN 112 o.J. omote "side, face", CM 260 o.J. omo "face" (: CUR 4.20 PALMER R. omo "nose") : RGR § 242, KE 142-3 KOREAN mat "face to face" : AMER 32.638, SCHULTZ § 16 ESKIMO terminative case (Terminalis) ending (suffix) -*mut*, ESKIMO 170 -*mun* "towards, to; directional suffix") : AMN 251.10 ARHA kuî, ARO mo-*kôi*, ANESU kû, KAPONE wo?-*ko*, DUBEA *kô*mui : VICT 856, SAS 77 KOLIJON, E.KULIN kong, 73 BANGERANG kowo, 89 E.KULIN kâng, KURNAI kung, CUR 4.20-21 U.PARU ko, Mt. BLACK ko, ku, in other

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AUSTRALIAN languages kuni, gu(ni), kung, kow(o), kuwu, kutha (: GATTI 1.12, 3.62, CUR 2.416 kuda, 3.100 wuda, 3.88 wuta "nose"), kuira, kiri, *kar*-muk "nose" (Synonym Compound whose second member *-muk* belongs to the above listed AA. MUH series), LES 311, CUR 4.21 *nu-kkurra*, no-*guru*; kâ(n)g, kâ, ka, nga "nose" (: MN 9.241, 249, 253, § 82, 168 JAPANESE ka(n)g- "smell", ka "odor", GSR 717 xyang "fragrance"); kabong, kâong, kapung, kabu, kâp, kao, kopi (NSW 20.67 L. Alexandrina) "nose" (: MNG 1514 OKINAWA *kôbî-kaba*-sung, AMAMI-OSHIMA *kôbi-kada* "smell something burning", TH 328 TOKUSHIMA *kôb*-a-si- "smell", DK 724 HEIAN-J. *kaub*-a-si "fragrant" : § 94 p. JAPANESE kabo, mod. J. kao, DL 273 16th cent. J. kavo "face" : SBM 556 SAKAI kapô "face, cheek", TEMBI kapong, SEMANG kâpo, kaba, kebang, BESISI gobuk "cheek" : PPI XXII, PM 45, SMM 158 SKT. kapôla "cheek" : PMC 45, GSR 630-h kiap/kiep/kia "cheek", RH 277 HAKKA kâp, LE 40, SWATOW 61 kih-*kau*, SGL 586 HOKLO kau, CANTON kap, SA. kiêp, kiêm, THO kem, MAN kam "cheek" : SZAR 2.202 HUNG. kép "effigies, form, face" : BM 159, RW 2.1185, KIR 2.255 KIRGIZ kep "form, mask") : : BARE'E engo, LAJOLO-SALEIER (CELEBES) ango (TANA-DOANG), KULA 3.57 onge "nose" : : AA (2(1960).730 KORYAK enku, GAL 103, IJLIJALA 2.43 ALEUT *angu*-siq "nose" : YUK 98, 102 yo(n)gu-l "nose"; IJAL 17.213 ALEUT igu-R "nose : APOA 54 KARAGA-KORYAK enku, hanku (: GSR 717 xyang), RCK 44 (h)engi-, ingi-, CUKOT (i)exa, yeko, ekuk "nose" (: DA 67, TM 101 POLYNESIAN !ihu! "nose") : S. KAMCADAL kaikï, kökü, N.E. KC. kayako (: PRI 238.168, JPS 25.102 TAUU-MORTLOCK, NUKUMANU ke-ixu, JPS 45.147 SIKAYANA kaiusu, 25.49 NUGURIA haisu, aihu "nose", containing prefixes to the POLYNESIAN stem *isu*, *ihu*, acc. to A. Capell); IJAL 25.109 all KAMCADAL dialects käka "nose"; NE. KC. kekiu, kika "nose" (: TH 232 JAPANESE Dialects FUKUOKA, SAGA kik- "to smell"); West KC. kakan (ERMAN), kaken (Radlinski, Slownik Kamczadalow zachodnich p. 112), qeqang, qeqeng (JOCHELSON), PSS 2.342 TIGIL kayakan (KRASEN.); UKA KC. käakang; NE., South KC. ken; NE. KC. a-*kong*en, kana-s; South KC. kaan-kang, kan-kan (reduplicated) "nose"; all KAMCADAL dialects kena (s), NE. KC. kan(n)ga (s)-sun, S. KC. kânga, kane-d, West KC. *king*a-zen, *k*na-śin, q(e)nga-s, APOA 54 KC. *kang*ï-d, *kag*i-śa "nostrils" (: GSR 717 xyang) : APO 323-5 ANADYR-CUKOT xünga, xïnga "nose" : SWADESH 1.143, TEE 104 ESKIMO k(r)inga-k, KADJAK kinaga, DGO 382 kange-k, PT 48 k(r)enya-(r)k, IJAL 17.213 ESK. qing-a-R "nose" : WKE 42 ALASKA ESK. *kon*-e- "smell"; SIBERIAN ESK. *ken*-owk "nose" : ESKIMO 76-77 k'ïn(g)-ak'

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"nose", k'inn(g)u "forehead between the eyebrows", *k'un*-i "tears" : : AMERINDIAN DALL 137 HAIDA k(w)ûn, CBR 85 kun, TOLMIE 15 KAIGANI kwin; PD 253 KAWCHO-DINNE *kun*(r)on "nose" : TOLMIE 102, KUTENAI 371 *kun*, *k!on* "nose" : KWAKIUT 1430 *xin*-dz-as, CBR 360 *gin*-t-aś ;PAPS 31.65 GYITAMAT *x'ūm*-aq "nose" : TOLMIE 14 SKUTKWAN-TLINGIT ?ke "nose" : ZM 157, ZO 54 ZOQUE *kin*-a; BO 210 OTOMI, JILIAPAN śiṅu, IJAL 23.4.III.148 S. ESTEBAN MIXTEC śini, IJAL 24.183 YOKUTS shinik, WINTU sono, 23.272 TAKELMA sin, PERU 174 singa, SALA 127 senkka, MOSSI 278 zenkka, IJAL 26.101 HUAVE śing, XINCA *sana*-ri, MACRO-MIXTECAN sini "nose" : : (The following Amerindian lexical items correspond to DA 67, PRI 238. 168 Polynesian stem ! *ihu* !, !*isu*! "nose") ANT 20.51 HOKAN ihu, KUCAN ihos, hho,echoo, M'MAT i-xo, MOHAVE (h)ihu, MARIKOPA ixuu-ś, DIEGUENO !exu, h?ho, ho, STA. CATALINA ho, YAVAPAI, TONTO, TULKEPAYA hu, CIMARIKO hoxu, KOKOPA aho, S. ISABELA ah!u, STNM 101 COMECRUDO, COTONAME yax, VMM 88 NAHUA yak-, IJAL 19.219 HOKAN-COAHUILTECAN-GULF yaxu "nose" : IJAL 19.219 YUMA iixuu, 1.284 SERI uuf, hif, KAROK yufi (/x/ labialized to /f/ because of originally following /u/) "nose" : ZM 379 MIXE hôp, IJAL 6.32 hīkb, ZA 775 xüöp "nose" : IJAL 19.219 MUSKOGI yupo "nose" : IJAL 13.212, 26.313 MIWOK huk (u) "nose", huk- "smell"; HEN 160 COSTANOAN (h)us, IJAL 6.32 MUKNE-MIWOK hus "nose", MUTSUN 431 us "nostrils", use "smell"; NE. MAIDU hiko, hiku "nose" : ZA 785 TAPACHULTECO xijku, 33 CAYAPA kixo "nose" : ATAK 139 uts, idst, ôds "nose"; IJAL 19.219 p. ATAKAPA *yuk*-s : ARAU 1.59, ARAU 2.288 y(ü)u "nose", 287 yung, AUKA 126 yug-e "pointed" : : IJAL 4.144 TIMOTE-KUIKA kong, 160 MUKUCI xok "nose" : IJAL 23.4.III.148 S. MIGUEL MIXTEC kûtu "nose", TRIQUE (*g*) *u*cuh, 19.219 JICAQUE *kucu*-way "smell" : CRIS 200 kut "nose" : : ZA 89 CHOCO ku, gu, kung, koeun, 81 CHOLO jun (: KHAR 255.315, KHAR 3.83 ju*n*y "smell"), ANDAGUEDA kuń "nose" : ZA 785 ZOQUE kin-o, TOTONACAN kin, kînô, TOTO 33 kin-kan "nose" : ZA 33 CAYAPA kixo, MOGUEX kin-d, TOTORO kim "nose" : : IJAL 5.77, BLA 14.71, ZA 492 MISKITO *kak*-ma "nose" (IJAL 25.109 KAMCADAL käka, kaken "nose") : : ZA 129 DARIEN-CUNA an-*ucuu* (: ATAKAPA uts : ZA 34 PAEZ ints : PD 253, MONT 727 intsin : PAPS 31.65 HEILTSUK itl, ûitl "beak, bill", NIMKISH itl "nose" : IJAL 26.245 GOAJIRO-ARAWAK ici "nose"), PB 1.40 CUNA acue, HCU 20 asu, ZA 136 S. BLAS ashu "nose" : 255 CHIRIPO cu "nose" : 846 CHIAPANEK d-*xiu*, 892 nguiu "nose" : IJAL 19.219, ZA 942 SUBTIABA dâko, daga "nose" (from

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p. HOKAN-COAHUILTECAN-GULFyaxu) : : ZA 33 COLORADO kinfu, CUAIQUER kimpu, 89 CHOCO kembi, kimba, kaimbu "nose" : : AFRICA BIL 240 BILIN qunbâ, qumbâ "nose" : EG 3.292 *XN*-M "smell, inhale", XNM-ty "nostrils", 290 *XN*-P "inhale", 302, LES 310, 312 *XN*-T (Pyramid Texts) "face, forepart of head, nose, (be)fore, anterior" (LES 312, EGSEM 746 cognate of p. HAUSA hinti, HED 444 hanci, Pl. hant-, KANURI kinsa, kentsa; CUR 2.28 AUSTRALIAN COOPER's CREEK kinta "nose"; FAR 2.265 ARABIC ?anf "nose"; EMBER in HAUPT-Festschrift connected with LEVY 251 xut-s "nose"), EG 4.153 Old EGYPTIAN *śn* "smell" : ED 362 DEMOTIC EGYPTIAN *XN*-M "smell", 363 *XN*-ś "stink" (: EGSEM 754, FAR 2.265 ARABIC xeśm "nose") : CC 559 COPTIC śol(e)m, śelem "smell", sin- "sense of smell" (: RSO 345, SAH 325, UGANDA 907 SAHO, AFAR, AGAUMEDER, AFRICANO 175 BENADIR-*SOMALI* san "nose", SAHO sîn "smell" : ZSU 139 LAME śin, ceni "nose" : Dillmann, ETHIOPIC tsênw "to smell" (col. 1309) : FAR 2.668 ARABIC *ts*an, *xen*-az "stink", *śem*-ûm "fragrant", 294 xan, *qon*an, *qen*em "stink" : Koehler, Lexicon vet. Testamenti 661 *sm*-s "cover with paste, perfume", AKKADIAN śammu "herb", Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus 2651 samo "medicinal herb" : SUK serr "nose"), CC 573 COPTIC śn(oś), śonś, *hn*aś "stink" : MASAI 2.331, BEJA 98 genuf, BILIN Pl. qunfef, TIGRE 1.40 !anef, DE 780 GE'EZ ?anf, FAR 2.265 ARABIC ?anef, ?unuf, ?anuf, PA 33 BERAN-ARABIC *h*anf-ar "nose" : QUARA 76 humbâ, komba "nose", AGAUMEDER, AI 2.360 AMHARIC kumbi, GALLA 29 humbi "elephant's trunk" : MASAI (g)ume, kume, BARI, TESO kume, TURKANA e-kumi, MURRAY 365 DYUR hum, BONGO homo, DINKA, LANGO, ALUR um, SHILLUK wum "nose" : NUER gûm, AC 409 ûm, LWOO 219 um, ANYWAK om, wum, MADI 317 omvu "nose" : UGANDA 940 MUNDU gô "nose" : : MW 193, BBW 40 p. BANTU *g*ulu "nose" : JBS 2.358, 1.759, TIMN 59 kul "nostril" : 2.358 OSHOPONG-ARUN kung, hum, 1.683 MBUDIKUM kong, 703 KOROP kyûn, BAFUT kô, IBIBIO gwô, 305, CWAN 228 n-*kò*, KOLOLO n-kû "nose" : JBS 1.570 KELE, 582 BONGO komba : 722 TVI hanga, hinga "nose" (: GSR 717 xyang, J. ka(n)gi "smell"), TSI 202 hweng, hwen(e) "nose", 190 hu(n)a "smell" : JBS 1.50 OLU-KONJO hur-i, KIVAMBA hur-e "nose" : ANT 16-17. 795, LES 327, XAMIR 57 xar, AWIYA qar, BILIN 242 qîr-â, QUARA xêr, xîr, stem *xayr*, SAHO 43 ûr "smell" (: EKA 255 INGILO cxür "nose" : MN 9.241 J. kori) : : BBD 466 BUSHMAN !kwi(n) "nostril", 667 ≠*kwi*-sa, ≠gwi, 324 /*kui*-ba "nose"; 329/kwai "scent, smell" : : PA 33 KORO *kung*-we "nose" : PEUL 120, PEULD 182 hine-, kine "nose", KAN 215 KANURI

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kenza, KANEM 109 keza "nose" : HED 444 hanci "nose" (loan from ARABIC ?anf) : ZSU 91 DORMO haine : 95 GULEI *hun*um, 93 KABA hindi : 147 GULFEI s-keng : 15 NZAKARA-ZANDE hu, ZANDE 3.67 ho(n) "nose", 43 fu-*ho*(n) "odor, to smell" : PA 33 BORITSU geu "nose" : : TUBU 196 kya "nose" : DN 55 NAMA ka "to smell" (: ANT 16-17. 796 N. E. AUSTRALIAN KABI lang. *ka* "smell"), kama-b "odor" (: TH 201 JAPANESE (AOMORI, AKITA, IWATE) kama-ri "odor").

The following series (with additions) is reprinted from my articles in Monumenta Nipponica 9.241-2, 249, Mon. Nipp. Monograph 16 p. 12-13 § 168 : Old JAPANESE *ka* "odor", kag- "to smell", M. Tôjô, Nihon Hôgengaku p. 122 JAPANESE kang-i "smell, odor"; TH 232 FUKUOKA, SAGA dialects *kik-* "to smell" : ANT 16-17. 783, Y 59 YAEYAMA-RYUKYU kab- "to smell"; HEIAN-JAPANESE *kaub*-a-si-, PORT 104, PJ 192 16th cent. J. *kôb*-a-si, modern J. *kamb*-a-si- "fragrant", kawor- "trailing, drifting and floating of mist, smoke, odors"; 17th cent. JAPANESE dialect Dict. Katakoto p. 76, 127-8 *ko* (*ko*-no-mono) in lieu of SINO-JAPANESE kau, kô "fragrance" : SDR 182, 165 XINGAN TUNGUS ongo, BIRARCEN TUNGUS ngo, CA 78 ungu "odor" : TUNGUS ongolo, MANCHU engge "bird's beak", SDR 209 BIR. KUM. XIN. AMUR TUNGUS ongo(kto), CA 76 ono(kto), hongo(kta) "nose, beak" (Sauvageot Voc. 200), GOLDI *xongo*re "stink", OROCHE 39 xungkö "odor" : GGOL 52 Sp. TUNGUS ogo, MANAEGER TUNGUS ?ango(kto), GOLDI ngoaxsa, OROCHE 48 ńuhö, ńoge "nose" : WMS 573 MANCHU *kang*-siri "Nasen- (wurzel)", *kang*-tarśa- "die *Nase* hoch tragen" : Lit. MONG. *qang*-sigar "nose, beak", *qam*ar, *qab*ar "nose" : UA 156, S. SZ. 17.253, RKM 222 KALMUK MONG. kangk(*a*)nx*a* "to stink" : WT 79 m. MONG. hunor, Lit. MONG. ünür, WT 125 onor "odor", *hun*ir "breath", *huni* "smoke" (: GSR 461 xywen /xyuen/ hün, SJ. kon, kun, SINO-KOREAN hun, xun "to smoke, steam, strong smell, fragrance" : LAO 185 hom *hün* (Synonym Compound) "perfumed", 360 kin "odor", 316 khiu "strong odor", 380 kuy "stinking") : TAMIL Lex. 1125 KANNADA, TULU kong- "odor" : ANT 16-17.769, 776, 783 ESW 814, 134 ESTONIAN hong, hing "breath, smell" (: JIW 25 Old NORSE *ang*-i "odor, smell", reflex of AW 38 IE. *an-* "breathe") : FV 16, LL 32 LAPP. hap-, hak-, hâv-, LO 288 hâgg-, hâdd-, hây-, hai- "smell" : YURAK SAMOYED ngab-, ngap-, TAVGI SAM. ngob- "smell" : TF 96 FINN. *häk*-ä, ESTONian *häg*-a "steam, fog" : OHK 294 KACHIN khang "stink", a-khang "bad odor" : JA 1905 p. 329 TARENG k(r)ön-a "to smell" : TM 162 MAORI kona, hongi "smell" : DA 15, 61 p. AUSTRONESIAN !angin, Old JAVANESE, TAGALOG,

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BISAYAN hangin "wind, air" : Neumann, KARO-BATAK Dict. 19 (ng)anggeh "to smell" : DAT 745 ACHINESE hiëng "odor", khiëng "stinking", 741 kheb, khob "stinking" : SBI 431 BONTOK-IGOROT (â)-kub "stench" : YAEYAMA-RYUKYU kab-, TH 201 J. Dialects kam- "smell" : JA 1905.329 CAM *ham*-ac "smell" : Mayrhofer, Etym. Wörterbuch 156 SANSKRIT kapi "incense" : MSOS 8.97 VALMAN-PAPUAN *kep*-ie "smell" (see TASJ 2.2.101 AUSTRONESIAN kangi).

Old JAPANESE *kor*-i "odor, fragrance, incense" : ANT 16-17.793, DAR 406 AINU *xur*-a, 389 fura "(to) smell" : DC 193 KOREAN kori "stench", KE 126 *kori*-m "pus", *kol*-m- "to gather as an abscess" : KO 928 Lit. MONG. qolong-, qol-mo- "stench of sweat" : DRAV 1362 KANNADA korcu "stench" : EKA 255 INGILO cxür, GEORGIAN cxvir-i "nose" : ANT 16-17.795-8, SOSO 2.136 xiri "odor" : AZKUE 1.487 BASQUE *kir*-astu, *kir*-ats, 482 *ker*-u, 486 kindu "stench" : NED 192 m. NED. *gôr*-e, DUTCH geur, gör "odor" : ASK 4.141 MARSHALL körör "stink" : TETUM 106 horon "smell" : NEW BRITAIN, SULKA giri "smell" : ASK 5.157 NEW BRITAIN, TUNA KUANUA (*n*)*gor*-o(k) "big nose" : KJ 1 49 BIMA ngilu "to smell", ilu "nose" : LES 311, 327, CURR No. 189 "nose" nu-*kurra*, 194 no-*guru*, 102 (II.358) kun-*kurry* (Synonym Compound), 90 kuira, 177 koar, 100 ny-*kar*, 97 i-*ngar* (II.324); DIEYERIE kuli "odor" : SE 180, TM 127, JPS 35.284 TIKOPIAN, MORIORI kara, MAORI ka-*kara* "odor" : ANT 16-17.824 IPURINA, KAMPA kiri "nose". See Wilhelm Oehl, Elementare Wortschöpfung § 10, ANTHROPOS 16-17.765-800, esp. p. 783, 795 J. ka, kag-, kab- "smell". See entries in my Etym. Vocab. *kut*-a-, *kut*-u, *kus*-a- "to rot", PJ 240 16th cent. JAPANESE *kus*-a- "stink" : GGD 95 CHIBCHAN kure "stink" : : BBD 593 BUSHMAN/ /kûsa, 123 k"o, 594/ /ku,/ /kam, 408 !kao, !khau, 444 !k(h)ou "smell".

The following series corresponds to the above listed FIJI *bona* "stink" group : VBG 37.283, JR 467 ROTTI pana(k), TIMOR pana-f "nose", TETUM 203, VBG 56.2.22 fani "sneeze" : TIT 34.593 ENGANO (Island West of Sumatra) panu "nose" : JBH 57 BIMA mpini "nasalize" : JPS 25.49 NUGURIA *pana*-isu, SAMOA *pogai*-isu, TM 351 MAORI *ponga*-ihu "nose, nostrils" (S. C. whose second members *-isu*, *-ihu* are reflexes of DA 67 p. AUS. ! ig'ung "nose"), *poni*ania "lower part of the nose", *pongi*angia "tattooed lines round the nostrils" : LES 233, ML 48, 85, WC 348, SA'A 83 FAGANI *bar*-usu, WANGO-SAN CRISTOVAL *p(w)ar*-isu, ULAWA, SA'A *p(w)äl*-usu (S. C.) "nose" : GABELENTZ 429.223 NEW BRITAIN *belo*; SEGAAR i-*pir*; MARSHALL Isl. *bad*-i; ERUB, MURRAY Isl. pit

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"nose" (: CSA 167-8 OS.SAMOYED pöt, poc, puto, YEN. SAM. puiya, 190 KAMASSIN phîyä "nose" : MEP 62 PERSIAN pôz, pûz(a), WAZIRI pêza, PASHTO paza, pwz "nose"; IIF 2.2.40 WANETSI pîza, ORMURI par- "nose", par-xâna "nostril" : GSR 521-C b'yed/pi "nose") : GABELENTZ p.495 GORENDU, BONGU, GUMBU (PAPUA) mana "nose" : S.SZ 16.761, BOROROS 42, YN 2.196, 274, 4.282, HOR 442, HMJ 274, CM 262 p. J. pana, MNG 787 RYUKYU pana, fana, PJ 284 16th cent. J. fana, mod. J. hana "nose" : KE 5, 134 KOREAN *puri* "nose" : GGOL 19 GOLD o-*poro*n, o-*fora*, MANCHU o-*foro* "nose" (: BOROROS 42 keno ("nose") -poro ("hole") "nostril") : GGOL 106 GOLD pung "odor", 117 fûnî "smell" : UDE 62 pungk-is- "to smoke", GGOL 106-7 GOLD *pung*-nagu "räuchern", OLCHA *pun*-śe "to smell" : SUA 159 p. TUNGUS pongo, SDR 54, Castren, TUNGUS 83 URULGIN and other North T. xongo "nose" : : ORN 1475 OSSETIAN fînd-z, find-z, fiy; EKA 255, ABXAZ 78 func-a, phînt-c, fent(a); SVAN. ne-*fxvna*, MINGREL c-*xvind-źi*, LAZ. c-*xind* "nose" : Old ARMENIAN khinth "nose", *khi'ng*-el "incense" : PES 226 PERSIAN bînî "nose" (compared with J. *fana*, OSSET. *find* by Klaproth APO 329); IRAN 1325 AVESTA vaēnā "nose", KURD bēn "nose, smell", m. p. vēn, North BALOCI gīn "breath" :: EB 448 BALOCI ponz "nose" (belongs to above listed P. *pōz* group) : : LES 309, EG 1.577 FN*D* "nose" : AFRICANO 174 AMHARIC a-finca, TIGRINNA a-fentca; GALLA fuńan "nose" : PA 32 PIKA-KAREKARE wunt-; KAMBARI vunu "nose" : TETE 2.52 TETE, MARAWI, KIRIMAN (Zambezi) puno "nose", METO, MATATAN, YAO 138 -pula "nostril", mbula "nose", mbengo "nostril", 225 penga "blow the nose" : JBS 2.357, 1.90 NYAMWEZI puna, NYATURU pula, NYANJA 330 phuno, (p)funo "nose" : JBS 1.174 KINGA peńo "nose"; 189 BEMBA punda, KONGO 146 pundu "nostrils"; LK 55 KONGO bongo "odor", JBS 1.384 KONGO, PA 33 MIMBOMA bongi "nose"; BALANTE pfun(g)a "nose" : BASA wun "nose", 206 ûnd "smell".

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS IN ORDER OF OCCURRENCE IN THIS PAPER

NIH. T. Iida, Nihon-shoki Tsūshaku/CM. B. H. Chamberlain, Most ancient words of the J. Lang. TASJ 16.225- / J. Japanese / KONO. S. Kōnosu, Manyōshū Zenshaku / GSR. Karlgren, Grammata Serica Recensa, BMFEA 29 Stockholm 1957 / KE. G. J. Ramstedt, Studies in Korean Etymology, MSFO 95 / MA. Manchu / RW. Radlov, Woerterbuch der Turk-Dialekte / EKA. R. von Erckert, Sprachen des kaukasischen Stammes / DRAV. Burrow, Emeneau, Dravidian Etymol. Dict.

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1961 / MNG. Miyanaga, Saihō Nantō Goi-kō (Ryūkyū Dict.) / LS. Linguistic Survey of India, vol. I Part 2 / LES. Alfredo Trombetti. Comparazioni Lessicali. Bologna 1915-20 / CUR. E. M. Curr, The Australian Race. / ZA. W. Lehmann, Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas. 1920 / GATTI. Gruppo linguistico Andamanese-Papua-Australiano. Bologna 1906-9 / TF. Toivonen, Suomen Kielen Etymol. Sanakirja (best Uralic etym. dict.). Helsinki 1955-8 / TANGUT. N.A. Nevskiy, Tangutskaya Filologiya. Moscow 1960 / AW. J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymol. Woerterbuch / FV. Collinder, Fenno-Ugric Vocab. 1955 / PA. S.W. Koelle, Polyglotta Africana. 1854 / ANT. Anthropos, publ. Anthropos-Institut / BBD. D.F. Bleek, Bushman Dict. 1956 / KHAR. H.J. Pinnow, Histor. Lautlehre der KHARIA-Sprache (best compar. grammar of Munda-Mon-Khmer languages). 1959 / TSL. S. H. Ray, Reports Cambr. Anthrop. Exp. to TORRES Straits. vol. 3 / VG. H. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften. The Hague 1913-29 / *M.* N. Matsumoto, Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques. 1928 / HOR. C. Haguenauer, Origines de la civilisation japonaise. 1956 / ESKIMO. Menovśćikov, Eskimossko-Russkiy Slovar'. Leningrad 1954 / AMN. Leenhardt, Langues et dialectes de l'Austro-Melanésie / SAS. W. Schmidt, Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen / PPI. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India / PM. F.B.J. Kuiper, Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit. Amesterdam 1948 / SMM. Mayrhofer, Etymol. Woerterbuch des Altindischen / SZAR. Lexicon Linguae Hungaricae Aevi Antiquioris / YUK. Angere, Jukagirisch-Deutsches Wbuch. 1957 / APO(A). Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta (Atlas) / DA. Dempwolff, Austronesisches Woerterverzeichnis / TM. Tregear, Maori-Polynesian comp. Dict. 1891 / PRI. Rivet, Malayo-Polynésiens en Amérique, Journal Soc. des Américanistes 18.141-278 / KC. Kamchadal / EG. Erman, Grapow, Woerterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache / EGSEM. F. Calice, Grundl. der Aegyptisch-Semit. Wortvergleichung. 1936 / FAR-E. Gasselin, Dict. Français-Arabe. 1886 / MW. Meinhof, Van Warmelo, Phonology of the BANTU Languages / JBS. H.H. Johnston, Comp. Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages / SJ. Sino-Japanese / IIF. G. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages / BORORO S. Trombetti, Lingua dei BORORO S. Torino 1925 / HMJ. Haguenauer, Morphologie du japonais moderne. 1951.

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KARA-TEPE—REMAINS OF A BUDDHIST MONASTERY OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD IN OLD TERMEZ

(Preliminary Communication on Excavations of 1937 and 1961)

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Gosudarstvennii Ermitazh, Leningrad

In the last years before the beginning of the World War II and during one and a half post-war decades Central Asian archaeology was conspicuous by the discoveries of many important monuments of art and culture. Amidst them a significant place is occupied by the Buddhist temples and cloisters. Such are two Buddhist temples of the VI-VIII centuries[1], monastery (?) and chapel which may be dated from the XI-XII[2] or IX-X[3] centuries discovered at the site of the town Ak-Beshim (Northern Kirghizia), the temple of the IX century in the ancient city Dzhul (10 km to the west from Frunze, Northern Kirghizia)[4]; the temple of the VII-VIII centuries in Kuva (north-east from Fergana, in the eastern part of the Fergana valley)[5]; some building of the VII-VIII centuries (or of the first centuries) A. D. in the valley of the river Sanazar (north-east from Samarkand)[6]; and finally, two more buildings (monastery or temple of the VII-VIII centuries) the excavations of which were started in 1961 : one in the valley of Chui (Northern Kirghizia) and another in the valley of Vaksh (Southern Tadjikistan)[7].

[1] L. R. Kyzlassov, Archaeological explorations at the site of Ak-Beshim in 1953-1954, *Transactions of Kirghizian expedition*, v. II, M. 1959, pp. 160-227 (in Russian); L. P. Ziablin, *The second Buddhist temple at the site of Ak-Beshim*, Frunze 1961 (in Russian).

[2] A. N. Bernshtam, Transactions of Semiretchensk archaeological expedition "Valley of Chui", *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologhii SSSR*, N 14, M-L, 1950, pp. 48-55 (in Russian).

[3] L. R. Kyslassov, *id.* note 100, p. 236 (in Russian).

[4] A. N. Bernshtam, *id.* pp. 131-133, 147 (in Russian).

[5] V. A. Bulatova-Levina, Buddhist temple in Kuva, *Sovetskaya Arkheologhia*, 1961, N 3, pp. 241-250 (in Russian).

[6] L. I. Albaum, Buddhist temple in the valley of the Sanazar, *Doklady Akademii Nauk UzSSR*, 1955, N 8, pp. 57-60 (in Russian).

[7] Brief information on the excavations of these temples, see : *Izvestia* (newspaper), 12 August 1961 and 1 January 1962.

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A small building of the XIII century discovered in Merv (Southern Turkmenia was likely to have served as a Buddhist temple[8].

These findings disprove the opinion current in literature that after the disintegration of the Kushan state Buddhism allegedly did not play any significant part in the culture and art history of the peoples of Central Asia. On the contrary these findings make us remember the statement put forth by Prof. V. V. Barthold on "the existence of Buddhist Iran (presumably the regions of the present Afghanistan and Central Asia) was of no less importance for the Moslem culture than Iran of Sasanides"[9].

All the above-mentioned ancient Buddhist monuments (not taking into consideration the buildings discovered in the valley of Sanazar river, the dating of which is still under question) are referred to the Medieval epoch. A further study of the materials excavated will thus throw light on the role Buddhism played in medieval Central Asia. Moreover, in what concerns Northern Kirghizia and Fergana—where the major part of the hitherto discovered Buddhist monuments is situated—we have all grounds to assume, that their appearance here in the VII-VIII centuries is to be accounted for not by some old local traditions, but by the activity of missionaries from Oriental Turkestan or China. It is to be understood that however great the scientific significance of all these discoveries, the study of Buddhism in Central Asia can not progress successfully unless there are found Buddhist monuments of an earlier period, i.e. of the period when Buddhism penetrated into Central Asia directly from India, and having established here, began spreading over extensive territories of Central Asia and the Far East. This period is known to fall in with the existence of the Kushan empire with ancient Bactria as its original nucleus—the region covering the northern part of present Afghanistan and the south of the Tadjik and Uzbek SSR.

There is no necessity of dwelling here on the great importance of the excavation of the monuments of Bactria, having played in antiquity such an important part in the history of the nations of the Orient. One should bear in mind that the Buddhist monuments of Bactria of the Kushan period have as yet been studied

[8] G. A. Pugatchenkova, *Development of architecture of Southern Turkmenistan during Slave-owning and Feudalist periods*, M. 1953, pp. 351-357; Id., Buddhist temple in Merv, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Material Culture*, LIV, 1953, p. 140 and fol. (in Russian).

[9] W. W. Barthold, Eastern-Iranian problem, *Trans. of Russian Acad. of History of Material Culture*, v. II, Ptr. 1922, pp. 371-372 (in Russian).

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insufficiently. In southern Bactria (south of the Amu-Daria—ancient Oxus) there was explored only a small monastery of Kunduz. Its date is yet uncertain and the materials published are but few[10]. As to northern Bactria, it is likely that the building in Airtam (at a distance from Termez) with the famous frieze representing musicians and garland bearers[11] found in 1933, was the Buddhist sanctuary. Unfortunately, the explorations here have been stopped[12] and the Buddhist character of the building is still under doubt.

To fill up, to a certain degree, the gap, existing in our knowledge of Bactrian monuments of Buddhism, was the principal aim of the Kara-tepe excavations.

Kara-tepe is a natural sandstone hill in the north-western part of old Termez, the city that was destroyed in 1220 by Chinghiz Khan's hordes (figure 1). It lay on the ancient route from Central Asia to India, between Samarkand and Balkh, near the crossing of the river Amu-Daria, constituting a very important trade and strategic point. Termez must have also been a major centre of Buddhism in northern Bactria. At any rate Hsuan-Tsiang, who visited this region approximately in the year 630 A. D. refers to ten Buddhist monasteries and more than a thousand monks[13]. The participation of a Termez monk in compiling a commentary to Buddhist texts translated into the Tibetan language is also known[14].

In 1928 the Kara-tepe hill was examined by A. S. Strelkoff, and it is Strelkoff who, having explored three caves half-buried in sand, suggested that they were the remains of a Buddhist cave monastery. In 1934-1936 some explorations of the caves were carried out by G. V. Parfenov. In 1936 the entrance to one of these caves was cleared by the collaborator of the Hermitage B. N. Kessayev, who found there in the sand a coin of the Sasanian king Shapur II (310-380). In 1937 a large archaeological expedition headed by Prof. M. E. Masson working in Termez region, one of the groups of the expedition, supervised by E. G. Ptchelina, conducted

[10] J. Hackin, Fouilles de Kunduz. L'Art Bouddhique de la Bactriene, *MDAFA*, t. VIII, Paris 1959, pp. 19-21.

[11] M. E. Masson, *Finding of fragment of a frieze of the first centuries A. D.*, Tashkent 1933; Id., Sculpture of Airtam, *Iskusstvo* 1935, N 2 (in Russian).

[12] In 1937 the excavations were stopped. See : M. I. Viazmitina, Excavations at the site of Airtam, Termez archaeological expedition, v. II. *Trudy Akademii Nauk UzSSR, ser. I, History, Archaeology*, Tashkent 1954, pp. 23-34 (in Russian).

[13] S. Beal, *Si-yu-chi*, London 1906, p. 38.

[14] P. Pelliot, Termez dans les textes chinois et tibétains, *Doklady Akad. Nauk SSSR*, ser. B, 1929, N 16.

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the exploration of Kara-tepe[15]. In 1961 the excavations were resumed by B. J. Stavisky[16].

The Kara-tepe excavations of 1937 and 1961 revealed large cave complexes hewn in sandstone and an above-ground building erected with unbaked bricks.

The two cave complexes that are being excavated, are in the main uniform in type, as well as the caves discovered formerly. Each complex, apparently, comprises a central room with four long corridors running around it. In the first complex (excavation II) there were opened the northern and partly the western corridors, a small room near the exit leading outwards, and a lateral cave in the north-western corner of the complex (figure 2a). The central room and the south-eastern part of the complex are not yet cleared; the accesses to them are thickly covered with blown-in sand and fallen blocks of sandstone. The clearing of the exit leading from the complex outside is not yet completed.

The northern and western corridors of the complex are about 2.6-2.9 m in width and about 2.5 m in height. The length of the open northern corridor is about 17.5 m. The vaulted ceilings and the walls bear the traces of alabaster plastering and brick-red painting.

A small compartment with vaulted ceiling excavated in 1937 not far from the exit of this cave complex, measures 3.4×3.4 m and is about 2 m in height. This room is situated below the level of the corridor and the entrance to it is approached by a flight a seven stairs cut in the sandstone. A stove-couch "sufa", also cut in the sandstone, is extending along its northern, western and eastern walls. The western and eastern walls each have small niches above the sufa. Like the corridor, the vaulted roof and walls are covered with alabaster plastering and brick-red painting.

The dimensions of the lateral cave in the north-western corner of the complex

[15] For brief communications on excavations of 1937 see: E. G. Ptchelina, Ancient Buddhist monastery in Kara-tepe (Termez), *Reports and communications of Historical Faculty of MGU*, N 4, 1946, pp. 52-56; M. E. Masson, Works of Termez archaeological expedition, 1937 and 1938, Termez archaeological expedition, v. II, *Trudy Ak. Nauk UzSSR*, ser. I, Tashkent 1945, pp. 5-6 (in Russian); H. Field and E. Prostov, Excavations in Uzbekistan, 1937-1939, *Ars Islamica*, v. IX, parts 1-2, 1942, pp. 144, figs. 6-8. A detailed account about the works conducted in 1937 will be published in v. 7 of Memoirs of Oriental Department of the Hermitage. In the foregoing publication will also be presented the history of the study of Kara-tepe before 1937.

[16] B. J. Stavisky, Excavations of Kara-tepe in Old Termez in 1961, *Bulletin of the Hermitage*, N 24, 1962 (in Russian).

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are 3.8×2.8 m; its height reaches 2.5 m; in the walls of the cave are hewn three niches.

A small chamber near the exit out of the complex was suddenly destroyed by a land-slide; on clearing it there was found a human skeleton (on the western sufa) with three whole clay vessels and a saucer-shaped lamp, lying beside it. Since the disaster the room remained uninhabited. The explorations of the northern corridor of the complex clearly revealed two periods of their being occupied by the living. At the level of 60-80 cm above the original floor of the corridor there were discovered the remnants of the secondary floor with a fire-hearth near the exit (made of unbaked bricks) and a feeding trough for horses (?) not far from it. In the north-western corner of the complex, near the entrance to the lateral cave, there were found on the secondary floor several human skeletons with their heads northwards, and animal bones, presumably of a donkey (?).

In the lateral cave the traces of the secondary inhabiting are less clear-cut. The secondary floor in this cave is rather well outlined. However, no significant finds were made on it. The rather numerous pottery found in this cave, including a large number of potsherds of various vessels and clay saucer-shaped lamps, as well as fragments of carved stone bas-reliefs and decorative *chatras*-umbrellas, and finally three copper Kushan coins—all of them were found on the original floor and in the layer covering it. The latter was, apparently, formed not only by the natural filling of the cave with blown-in sand and crushed pieces of sandstone, but resulted from the debris thrown in when scavenging the complex for its secondary use. An analysis of the arrangement of the lateral cave and of the findings obtained therein suggest, that unlike the small living chamber near the entrance to the complex, this cave was assigned rather for the storing and keeping of the objects of worship or domestic implements.

The cave complex under study was accessible to incidental visitors during many centuries which is testified by the finding of a fragment of glazed dish and the discovery of some Arabian inscriptions—graffiti on the wall of the northern corridor, which, according to palaeographic data, may be assigned to the XI - XII centuries[17]. Gradually, however, the entrance to the complex was more and more buried under sand and by the beginning of the XX century there was left only a shallow crater indicating that there was once an entrance

[17] Dating of the inscriptions was possible through the courtesy of Prof. V. A. Shishkin (Tashkent).

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into the depth of the sandstone hill.

In another cave complex (excavation III) the explorations of 1937 and of 1961 disclosed a central room and four corridors running along its sides (figure 2b). The entrance, as well as the adjoining part of the complex are not yet cleared.

The vaulted corridors of the complex under study are 2.5-2.7 metres in width and 2.5-2.7 m in height; their length reaches 14 m. In the eastern corridor, as well as in the eastern part of that of northern, from the walls project arched pillars which, evidently, served as a peculiar decoration of the approach to the central room. The walls, pillars, arches, and vaulted roofs are plastered with a thin layer of alabaster.

The central room of the complex measuring 4.4×2.7 m, extends from the north to the south. In its northern part the northern, western, and eastern walls are furnished with niches, in the southern wall, at a height of 1.2 m from the floor is an alignment of 10 small recesses. Two more of such recesses are located in the southern portions of the western and eastern walls. These, presumably, served as nests for wooden beams forming either a kind of a canopy-shaped construction or a postament[18].

The corridors and the central room of this complex are in good preservation. The roofs are almost everywhere solid; the sandy structure, consisting of fine sand blown-in by the wind through the doorway in the south-eastern corner of the complex, totally covered the south-eastern portion of the complex, lessening in its thickness to 20-30 cm towards north-west. Similarly to the one described above, this complex was accessible during a considerable lapse of time: here, both in the corridor and in the central room, we found fragments of glazed dishes, medieval designs and Arabian inscriptions—graffiti on the walls. Of special interest are Kufic inscriptions in the north-eastern corner of the central room, where one reads the name of Ahmed ibn-Ahmed[19] and where are incised vertical lines. Most probably these were markings of the run of days and this solitary place was a shelter for some Mohammedan in the X-XII centuries.

Unlike the first cave complex, here is only one floor and, apparently, there

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[18] This assumption has been put forth by E. V. Zeimal, who participated in the excavations of 1961. Similar recesses were met with in the cave monasteries of Eastern Turkestan. A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan*, 1912, pp. 316-317, figs. 635 and 635a. Grünwedel believes these recesses to be the nests for brackets for hanging the stone reliefs thereupon.

[19] The reading is by M. B. Severova, a member of the expedition.

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was only one period of regular life. Frequent later visits to this cave did away with many traces of that period. But nonetheless there were found in the north-eastern and in the north-western corners, in the blown-in sand of the central room, potsherds of earthernware and fragments of stone bas-reliefs similar to the findings in the first cave complex.

The building above the ground (excavation I) proved to be a temple erected of large square unbaked bricks ($31-33 \times 31-33 \times 10-12$ cm in size) and consists of the central chamber-cella, corridor running around it, and a small living room (figure 2c). All these dwellings are faced northward; in this direction was, probably, an aivan-portico with columns and flat wooden roof (18m in width)[20]. The floor in the cella, in the corridor, and in the living room is raised above that in aivan. The doorway to the cella is supplied with a threshold built of white limestone slabs. The threshold was approached by a pavement made of white limestone plates. The threshold slabs were originally decorated with designs of lotus blooms in black contours. Later on the whole threshold was painted in red. Side walls of the aivan were painted in the same colour. At the entrance to the cella, on the walls of aivan, there were found the remnants of polychrome images of human figures in upright position (there are preserved only fragments of feet and of borders of clothes).

The cella represents a closed chamber of 4.5×3.3 m in size, with the floor and walls painted in red.

The corridor (1.3 m in width) rounded the cella from three sides : west, south and east. At the doorways to the corridor there are low thresholds made of limestone slabs or baked bricks.

The living room of 3.5×3.5 m size is located in the south-eastern part of the building.

The entrance to this room is decorated with semicolumns painted in green and supplied with a low threshold made of two baked brick plates. In the

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[20] The plan of the principal part of the building, namely, the cella with the corridor rounding from three sides, reminds not only that of the central part of the temple in the acropole Surkh-Kotal (D. Schlumberger, Descendants non-Méditerranées de l'art grec, *Syria*, t. XXXVII, 1-2, 1960, p. 143, fig. I) but the temples of Pendjikent and Ak-Beshim as well (Memoirs of the Tadjik archaeological expedition, v. II, *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologhii SSSR*, N 37, M-L, 1953, pp. 55-58, pl. I-II; *Arkhitekturnoye Nasledstvo*, 8, M. 1957, pp. 128-133; L. R. Kyslassov, *id.* pp. 167, 196-198 [in Russian]). Such planning of the temple is, apparently, not connected with any definite cult.

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southern wall of the room is a recess, serving as fire-hearth. Along the western and northern walls are sufas of unbaked bricks. The excavations in this room yielded stone quern, clay lamps, etc.

In this above-ground building are to be clearly traced the remnants of two periods of life. During the first, rather lasting period the temple was used wholly: the excavations revealed several layers of the wall plaster and the floor covering, testifying to repeated repairing works; at the same period the threshold at the entrance to the cella of the temple was repainted. During the second period the building was used only partly; at this time the eastern entrance leading to the rounding corridor was blocked with a wall built of unbaked bricks, and in the western wing of the corridor there was also erected a wall of the same material forming an isolated chamber; thus the corridor in its larger part was deserted.

Probably at the same time the aivan was destroyed too. At any rate the traces of painting on the walls at the entrance to the cella are preserved only up to the level of the secondary floor. This is rather an evidence of there having been neither roof nor canopy, above the walls here during the second period of life and, consequently, the aivan as it were merged with the court.

No findings testifying to any use of the building during the medieval time were obtained.

While describing the cave complexes and the above-ground temple we have already mentioned about the wall painting and contour designs, which originally decorated the threshold at the entrance to the cella. Judging from the small fragments of the painted alabaster statues (found when excavating the aivan) there must have been also other art objects in the temple. The fragments of stone reliefs, in particular the pieces of marly limestone bearing the representation of acanthus (figure 3a) support the above assumption. Noteworthy is part of a stone bas-relief, representing a human figure under the arch (figure 3b), the subject very familiar in the art of India, Afghanistan and Central Asia of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods.

Among the religous images found in Kara-tepe there should be noted, already described in literature, representation of stūpas, scratched in the walls of the cave already explored by G. V. Parfenov[21]. To the same category of finds

[21] M. E. Masson, Sites of Old Termez and their study, Termez archaeological complex expedition of 1936 (*Trudy Uzbekistanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR*, ser. I a. 2), Tashkent 1940, pp. 77-78 and figs. 58-59, pp. 82-83 (in Russian), as well as H. Field and E. Prostov, *id.* pp. 143, 144.

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there is to be referred a small clay figurine of Buddha. Fragments of *chatra*-umbrellas, often decorating stūpas or reliquaria, as well as lids ornamented with floral lotus design—a favourite motif for the adornment of cult boxes and reliquaria[22] —are, probably, closely connected with the objects of Buddha's cult. *Chatras*, the pieces of which were found in Kara-tepe, were executed in white marly limestone blocks and painted in red. The lids, ornamented with lotus bloom (figure 3c) are, in major part, of clay and only one of them was made of limestone.

The pottery found in Kara-tepe is large in number and necessitates a special thorough study. The most characteristic are the vessels with red slip (angob) and stripped and lozenged polish (figure 4a). Rather numerous are saucer-shaped clay lamps (ciraghs) (figure 4b).

A small clay crucible and stone melting mould deserve special mention (excavation I). This mould is similar to the "lamp" from Begram[23].

Of great historical and cultural importance are 45 fragments of clay vessels with remains of inscriptions in Sanskrit (figure 5). The analysis of these fragments showed that they were but separate pieces of, at least, 8 different vessels. The inscriptions were evidently running round the body of the vessels. These inscriptions of Kara-tepe are hitherto the first findings of such kind in Soviet Central Asia[24]. At present T. V. Grek is deciphering these inscriptions. According to her statement, the inscriptions on the majority of the vessels are written in Brāhmī script. They may be dated from the I-III centuries A. D. The shapes of characters *a*, *ka*, ligature *nda* are typical of that time.

The inscriptions on three potsherds are in Kharoshṭhī script. All inscriptions are in Sanskrit, which is evidenced by inflective endings, such as *°sya*.

The finding of coins issued by Kushan kings (Kanishka—two coins; Huvishka—

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[22] The finding in Begram (stratum II) is most similar to the lids from Kara-tepe. See R. Ghirshman, Begram, *MDAFA*, t. XII, Cairo 1946, pp. 58 and 194, pl. XVI, 14a, XXXVI, 424.

[23] J. Carl, Le Bazar de Begram, *MDAFA*, t. VIII, 1959, p. 96 (N 104), fig. 239.

[24] Earlier, on the territory of Central Asia there were found only two inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī (un-deciphered): in Termez (M. E. Masson, *Sites of Old Termez...*, pp. 81-84) and in the village of Darshai in Pamir (A. N. Bernshtam, New inscriptions from Central Asia, *Epigrafika Vostoka*, III, M-L 1949, pp. 57-58 (in Russian). In 1960, during excavations in Pendjikent there was found a fragment of a large clay vessel with scratched inscriptions in Brāhmī of the VII-VIII centuries. New documents in Brāhmī script of the VI-VIII centuries on birch bark were found by L. I. Albaum in 1961, when excavating in the regions of Termez.

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one coin; Vasudeva—three coins) as well as of three un-attributed late Kushan coins, might greatly contribute to the dating of the monastery. Both these coins and the coin of Shapur II enabled us to assign the full activity of the monastery to the close of the I-III centuries, and its decline to the III-IV centuries A. D. The first period of the life of the building may be dated by the two coins of Kanishka found on the floor in the deserted part of the corridor of the above-ground temple, while the rest of the coins are to be referred to its second period.

The above-ground temple of Kara-tepe went to ruins after the monastery had been deserted and some of the caves, remaining open, became accessible to all kinds of visitors during many centuries, which is evidenced by the discovered fragments of glazed pottery and Arabian inscriptions. However, no objects datable to the VI-VII centuries were found in Kara-tepe, therefore there is no ground to believe that Hsuan Tsiang could mention of it.

As a matter of fact the explorations of Kara-tepe have just begun and, notwithstanding the fact, that numerous findings of interest have been already obtained, it is still too early to draw any far-going conclusions. Nevertheless, there is no doubt, that it is a first, for the time being, Buddhist cave monastery of Kushan times found in Bactria and in Central Asia in general, and that its study might throw light on the history of Buddhist dissemination, and contribute to the knowledge of Bactrian culture and cultural relationships between Central Asia and India. All these problems represent a considerable interest for both Indian and Soviet (as well as Westeuropean and American) researchers.

Having this in view, we considered it desirable to acquaint our Indian colleagues with the first results of the Kara-tepe excavations[25].

[25] As the present work is only a brief information, the complete analysis of these findings or bringing forth all possible analogies was beyond our scope

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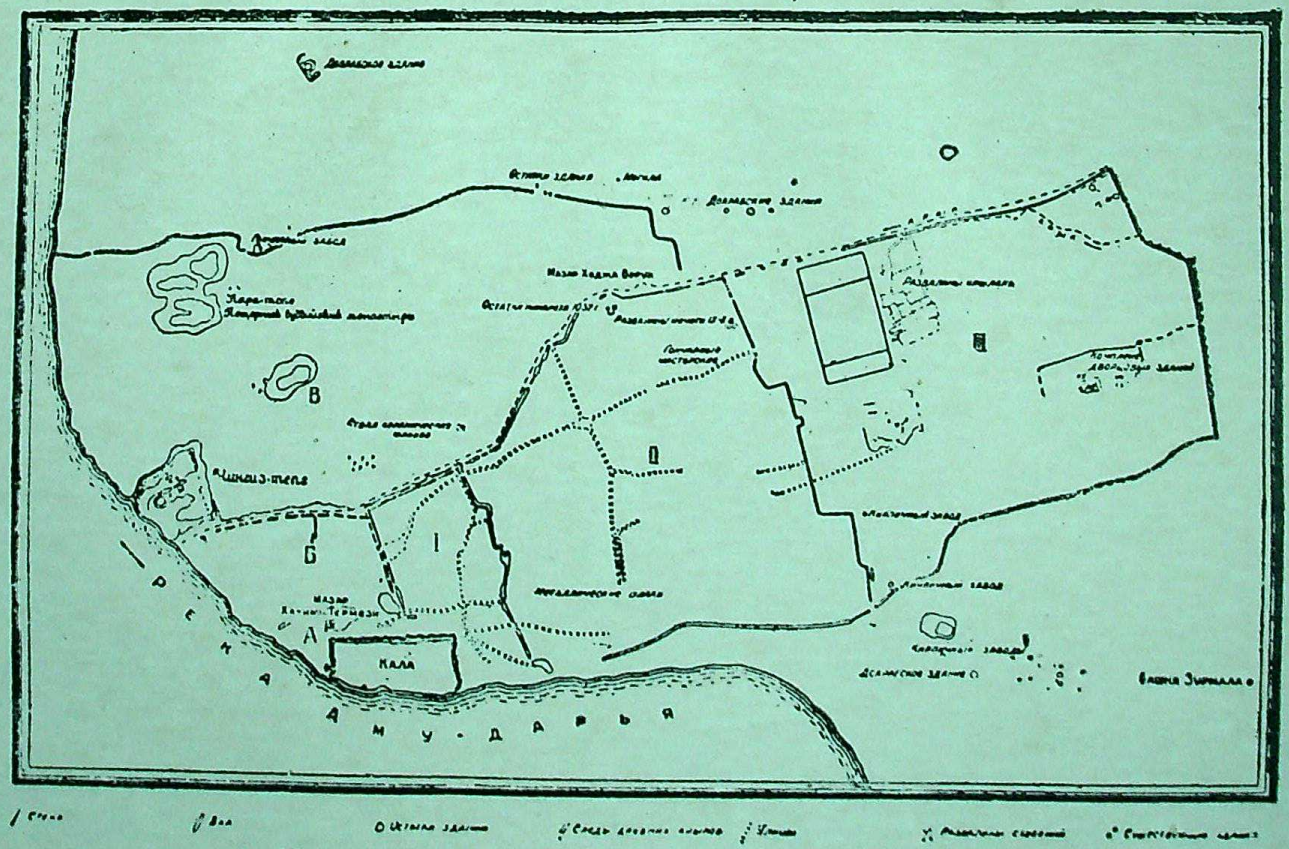

Figure 1. Sketch map of the site of old Termez (X- Kara-tepe).

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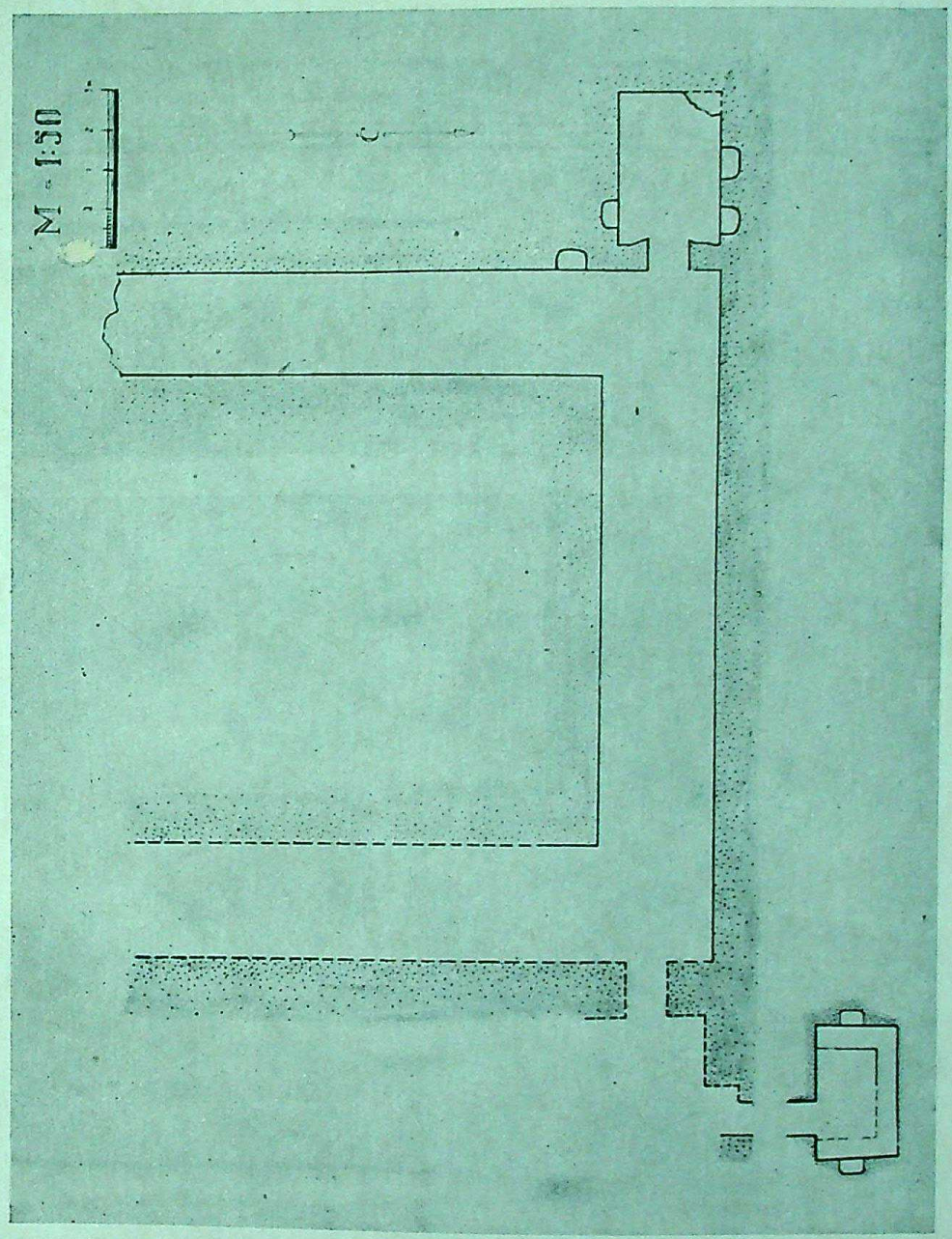

Figure 2a. Sketch plan of excavation II (cave complex).

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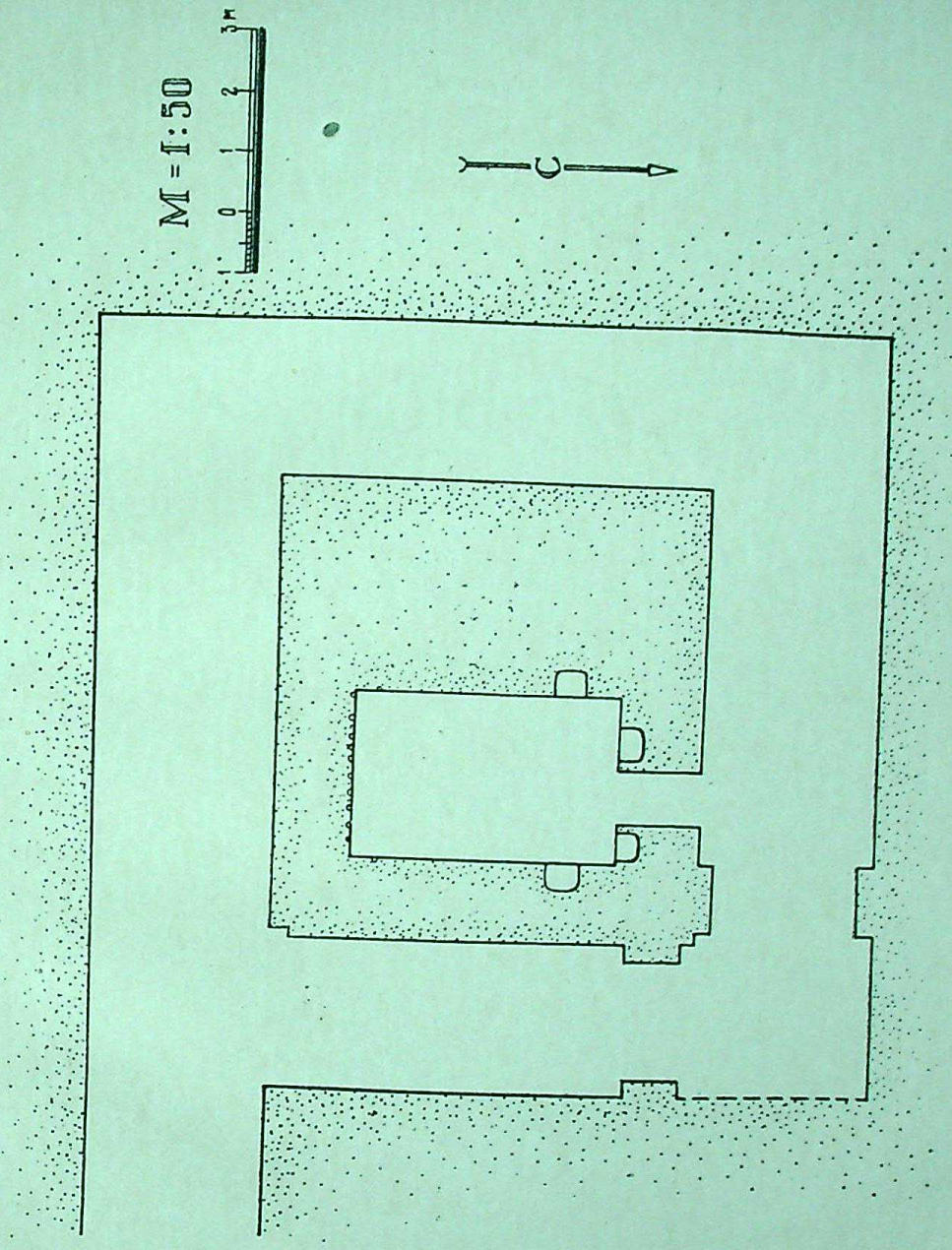

Figure 2b. Sketch plan of excavation III (cave complex).

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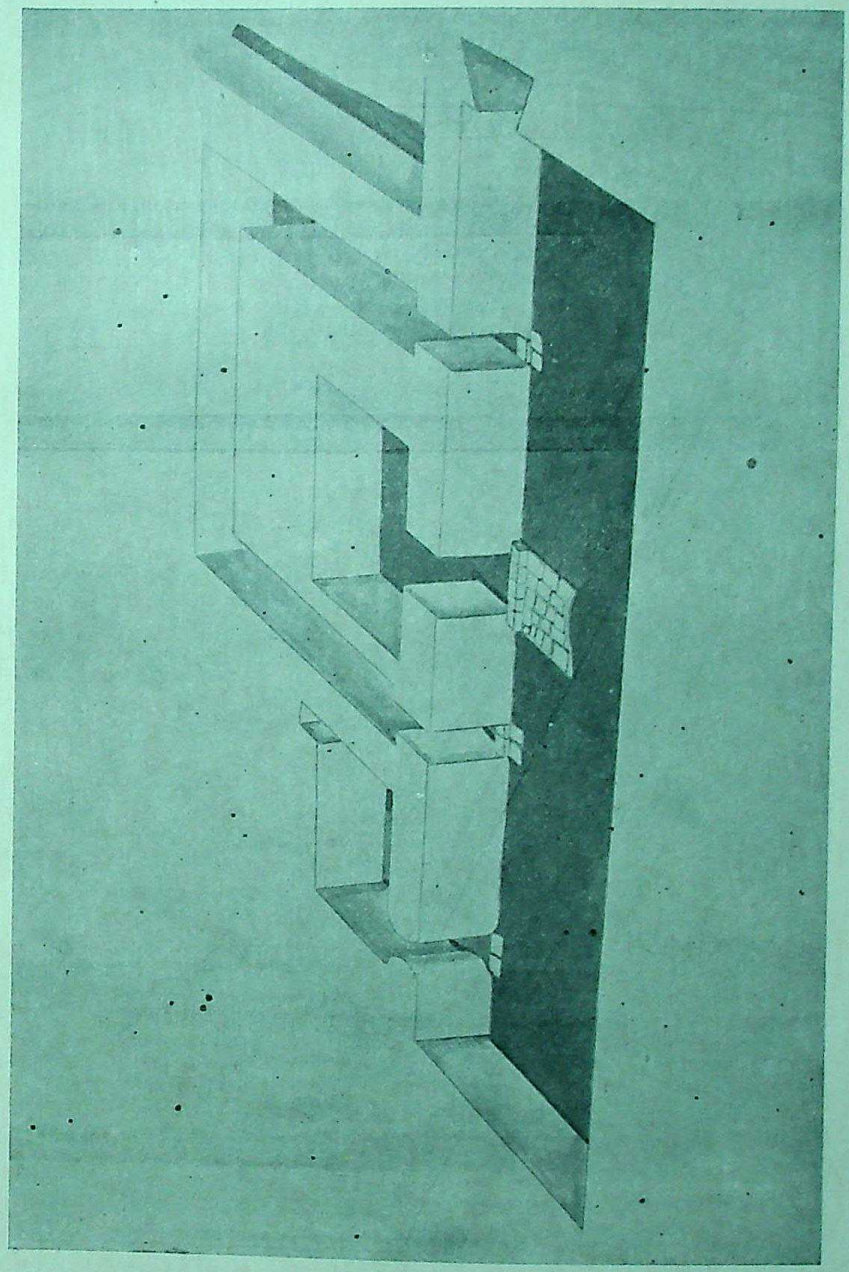

Figure 2c. General view of excavation I (aboveground building). Partly reconstructed.

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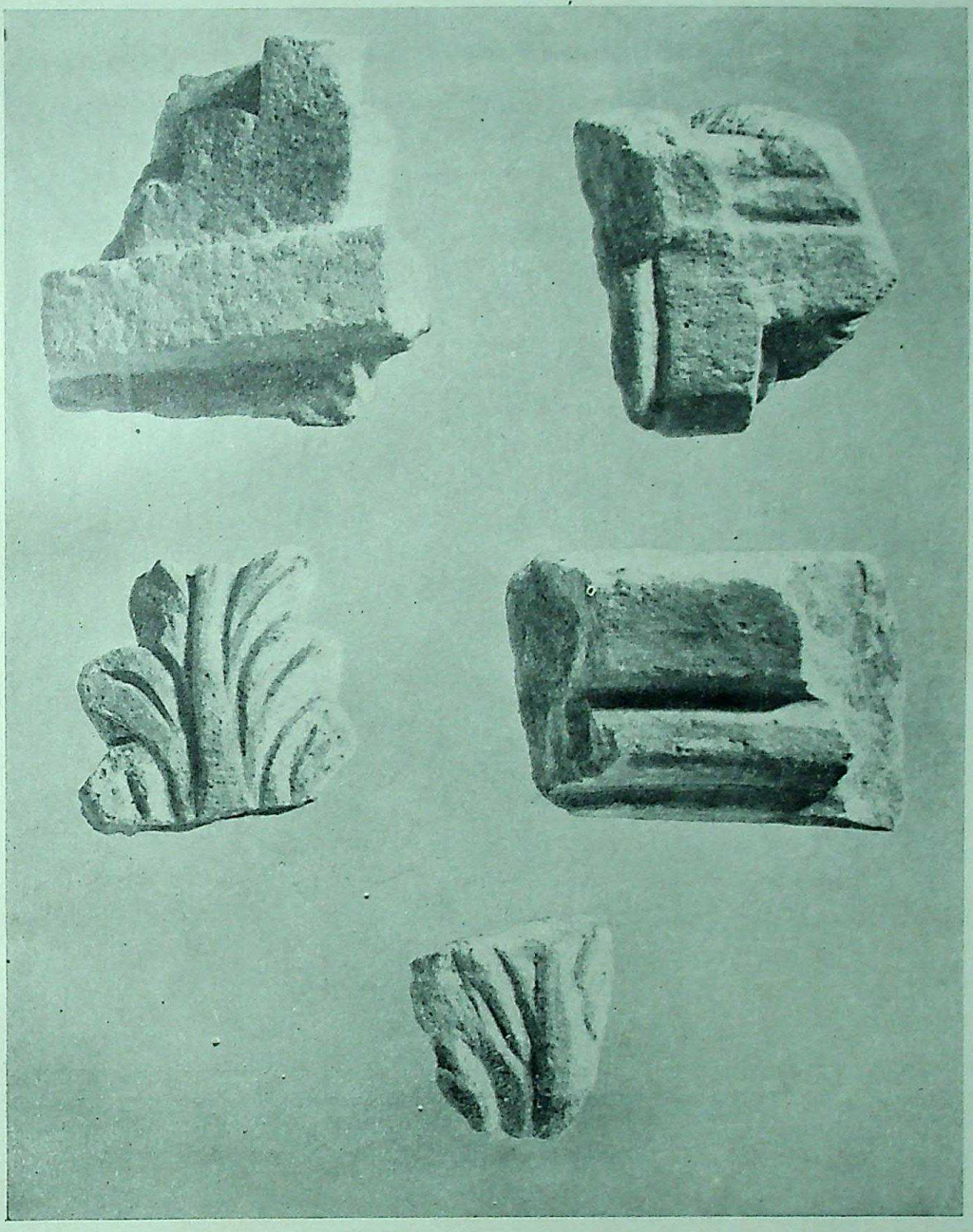

Figure 3a. Ornaments.

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Figure 3b. Stone basrelief with a part of the human figure.

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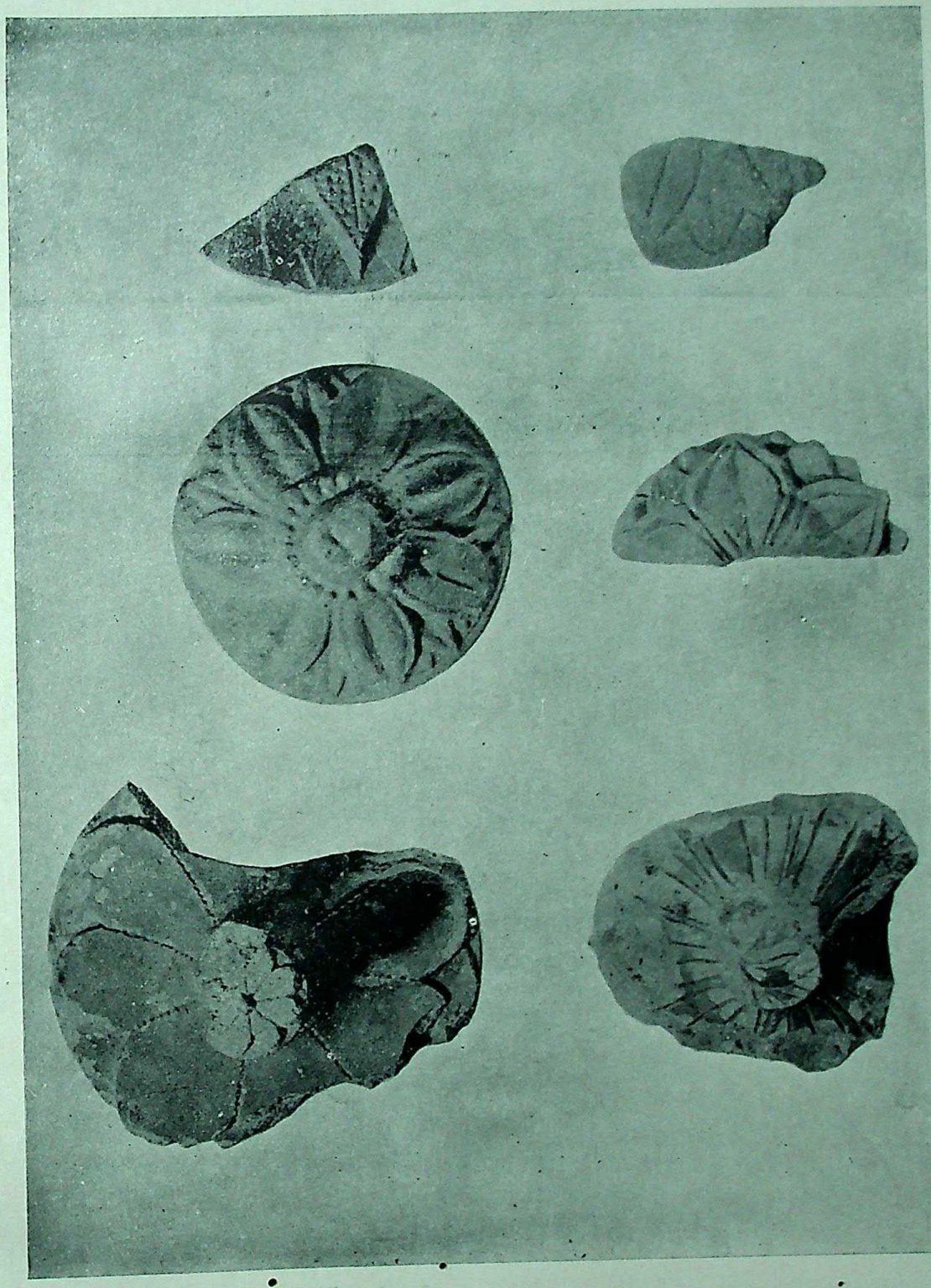

Figure 3c. Clay lids.

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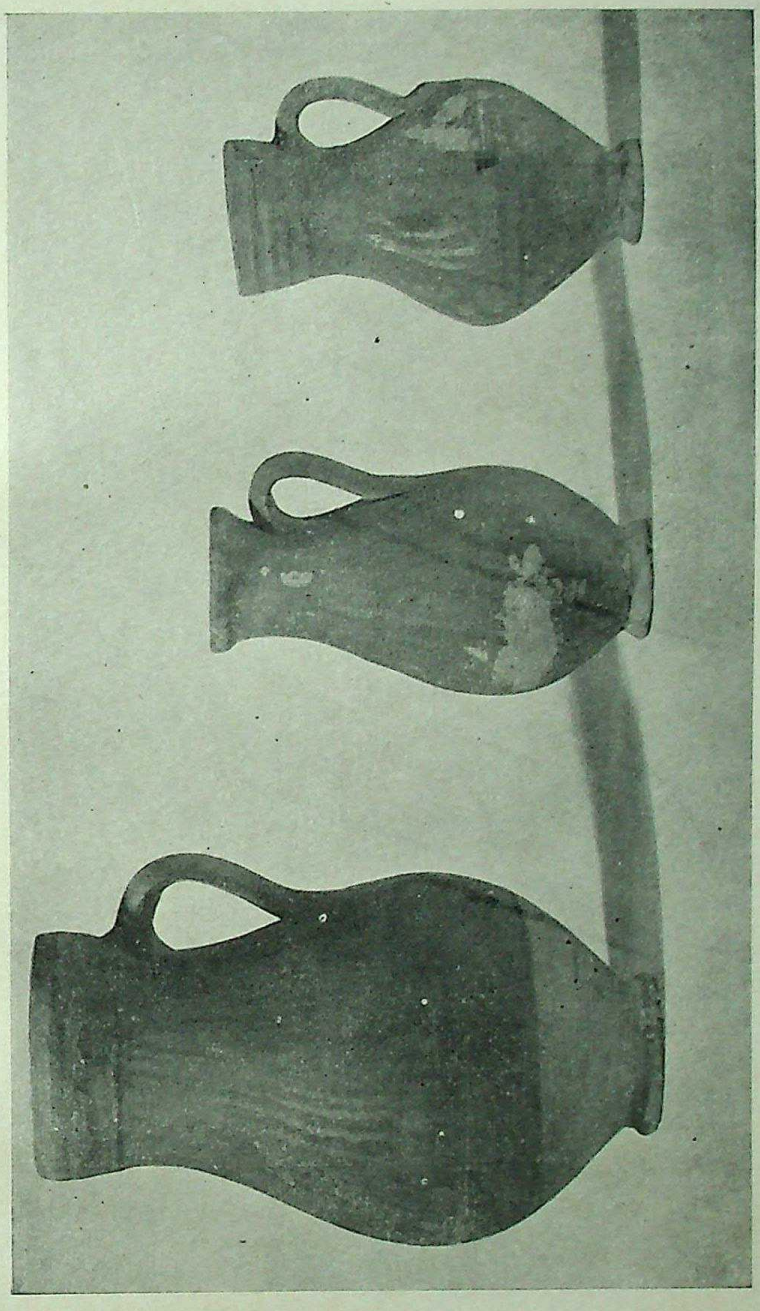

Figure 4a. Clay vessels.

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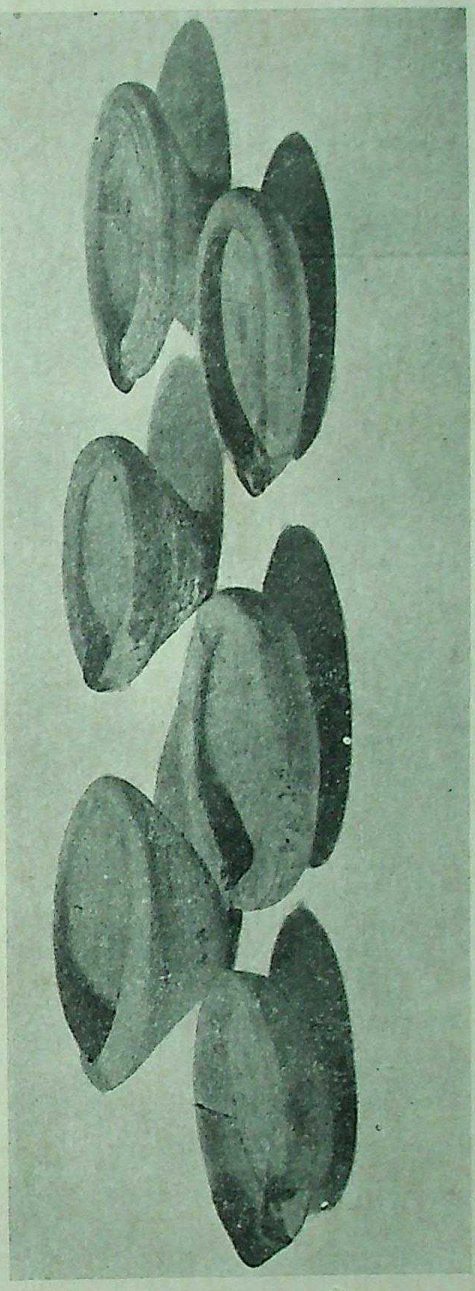

Figure 4b. Clay lamps (ciraghs).

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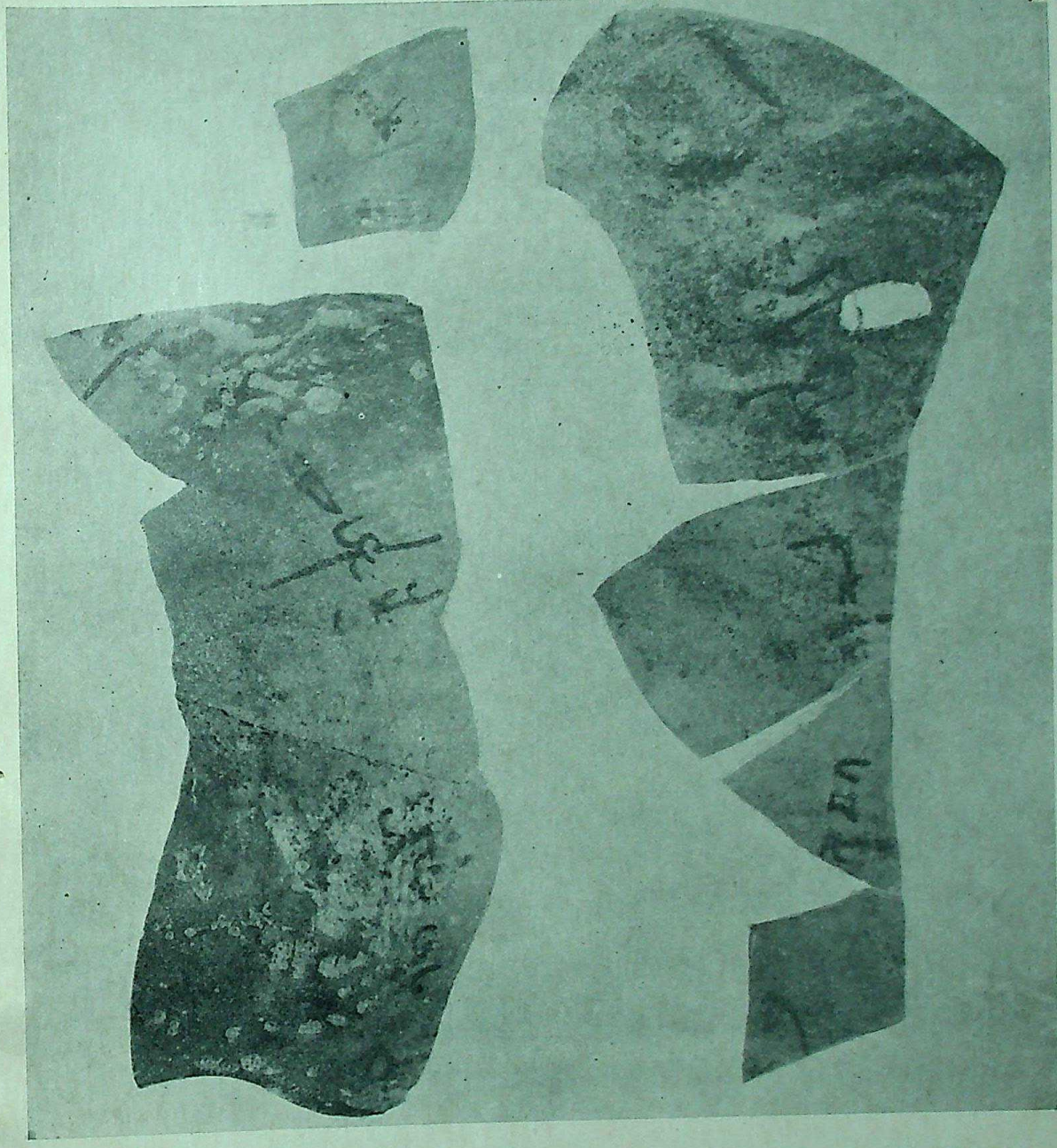

Figure 5. The fragments from three clay vessels with Brāhmī inscriptions.

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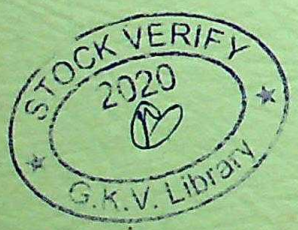

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